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THE

DIVINE LAW AS TO WINES.

ESTABLISHED BY THE TESTIMONY OF

SAGES, PHYSICIANS, AND LEGISLATORS

AGAINST THE USE OF

FERMENTED AND INTOXICATING WINES,

CONFIRMED BY

EGYPTIAN, GREEK, AND ROMAN METHODS

OF PREPARING

UNFERMENTED WINES

FOR

FESTAL, MEDICINAL, AND SACRAMENTAL USES.

BY

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THE WRITER TO NEW READERS.

THE work to which the attention of thinking men is here invited was the suggestion of childhood's attestation; and has been the study of a long life amid most responsible charges. The original volume was the result of five years' special investigation on behalf of the "National Temperance Society," whose publishing house is at 58 Reade Street, New York. The first Supplement was prepared at their request. The necessity for more extended and exhaustive statements of fact has led to its committal to the writer, and its adaptation to a new class of readers.

Scientists are invited to an examination whose results have led to Pasteur's election as a member of the French Academy. Physicians are interested; since the ablest men in their profession are returning to the practice of ancient Greek medical men, who employed intoxicating wines only as an anæsthetic. Statesmen are awakened to new responsibilities; since the records of pauperism and crime are causing a return, in France, England, and America, to Grecian and Roman "prohibition," as the only safeguard from the perversion of "license;" meant to be a protection to society, but really an invitation to prey upon the defenceless. Philanthropists are roused · since the skeleton of

inebriation, lurking in every palatial home that has its wine-cellar, is pointing its finger to this fact: that, from the era of Noah's fall, wise and good men have sought, and that in Egypt, Greece, and Rome they found, a method of preserving wines free from the poison of alcoholic ferment. Religious leaders are reforming; for the fact is now established that wine free from ferment was prepared for the religious rites of ancient Egyptians and Romans, Hebrews and early Christians; that it was this wine Christ made, drank, and appointed for His Supper; and that the conviction of the Reformers, seeking to return to the primitive ordinance, now rules opinion and practice in the "Church of England."

Bacon, the restorer of Aristotle's method in scientific investigation, wrote on the theme of this volume: "As those wines which flow from the first treading of the grape are sweeter and better than those forced out by the press, ... so are those doctrines best and sweetest which flow from a gentle crush of the Scriptures, and are not wrung into controversies and commonplaces." Taught through a long life by communing with such minds, and assured that "the truth," as to this vital fact of the ages, should be maintained, the writer invites still, as he has long received, manly criticism; only asking that it be *open* so as to be *met*.

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THE WRITER TO HIS READERS.

If the writer of the following treatise may judge from his own experience, the title-page of this volume will be met with both a pre-judgment and a prejudice. That pre-judgment will appear in the inquiry: "Has not advanced scholarship decided that there can be no unfermented wine?" That prejudice will reveal itself in the question: "If Divine law has appointed the use of unintoxicating wines, why has not the law of their preparation been sooner brought out?" If the prejudice be groundless, the pre-judgment may permit an impartial meeting of writer and reader.

Ruling minds in Europe and America are now agreed that stable and efficient government must be constitutional; that servitude must be but minorage guardianship; and that religious worship must be free. Thorough scholarship now finds that each of these modern reforms was embodied both in theory and practice in Hebrew, Grecian and Roman constitutions; and that they are ever traceable in the connections of ancient literature. A clear and full understanding of the actual statements of ancient writers is attained only by the conspiring of two cooperating causes; first, an imperative popular demand which gives a clear eye; second, a comprehensive survey which gives a full view.

The same writers whose records make distinct the existence of the rule of natural law, now admitted as reform, reveal an unbroken succession of facts illustrating "the Divine law as to wines." In all ages of thought and culture, physicians, statesmen and moralists have recognized the "poison" lurking in fermented wines; and from sanitary, social and religious convictions, they have sought to counteract and eradicate it. The Egyptians and Hebrews had an "unfermented wine;" as a chain of authorities from Moses, the historian and law-giver, to Fuerst, the latest Hebrew lexicographer, attest. The *laxative*, as opposed to the intoxicating effect of such wine, is stated by a succession of Hebrew, Grecian and Roman writers. The mode of preparing and preserving such wine is minutely described by Roman writers from Cato, B.C. 200, to Pliny, A.D. 100. The fact that such wine is referred to in the Gospel histories as that used by Christ at both the Passover and Lord's Supper, is confirmed by the words of the inspired writers, by the comments and translations of the early and of the Reformed Christian scholars, and by the prevailing, though ofttimes perverted, practice of the Jewish and Christian Churches.

The demands of science, in medicine and jurisprudence, in social and Christian ethics, justify the attempt to trace impartially that history.

THE

DIVINE LAW AS TO WINES.

EXPERIENCE AS A GUIDE TO LAW.

EXPERIENCE, or personal history, is not only a part of, but an essential prerequisite to the study of universal history in each and all of its departments.

The writer's boyhood-memories recall a childhood-tasting of the sugary bottom of a glass on his mother's sideboard left by a guest of his father, who was a clergyman of great moral worth. The sensation as of worms crawling through his young brain, the "biting serpent" of Solomon, created a dread never overcome. Shortly after an extra glass led that father to insist that a closet-door should open the opposite way from that indicated by its hinges, and gave an added terror to that dread; for it embodied Solomon's warning, "Wine is a *mocker;* Strong drink is raging." The temperance reform soon came; that father was one of its earnest, but conservative advocates; and an early Christian profession added to the convictions before formed.

In school-days extremists were met. Some fellow-students, preparing for college, were so severe toward conservatives and so ascetic in their demands, that their mate of but fourteen years rose and proposed to add to the pledge "abstinence from cold water;" since many lost their lives by intemperance in its use. Youth and early manhood passed without committal to a pledge, but in the strictest abstinence.

A tour in the East, through Egypt, by Mount Sinai, through Palestine, was made in 1847–'8, shortly after the scholarly investigations of President Nott and of Professor Stuart had stemmed, though not turned the tide, counter to sound Biblical interpretation, which heated advocates of total abstinence had awakened by their attacks on the Christian Church and the Christian Scriptures as inculcating the use of wines. The counter and opposing statements of Rev. Messrs. Smith and Homes, coming from Syria and Constantinople, prompted personal observation and inquiry throughout the entire Levant.

The subsequent responsible charge of pastor to a congregation, many of whose members were leading statesmen, led to a frequent presentation of the evils arising from wine-drinking in fashionable society; which aided the determination then prevalent to banish wine from official entertainments. The equally responsible duty of a col-

lege-president prompted consistent example, and teaching that entire abstinence was the only safe rule for personal guidance. Solomon's precept, "It is not for princes to drink wine," formed an efficient appeal to the ambitious student; as Paul's allusion, "The *athlete* is temperate in all things," was an effectual incitement to religious devotion. Meanwhile the use of brandy prescribed by a physician as a tonic, gave personal assurance that far better, as well as less dangerous prescriptions should be made by physicians. Moreover, to satisfy friends who pleaded fashion for the use of light wines, companions in travel were yielded to, that the experiment of their effect might be satisfactory; when a large company of mature and youthful fellow-travellers returned to resist the introduction of European drinking customs into America.

Seven years of college and pastoral life in New York have been made trying by appeals of anxious mothers whose sons were falling, by reformed inebriates who so dreaded the temptation of the Communion-cup, and of merchant-princes who despond because no American families can be perpetuated.

The writer would have incurred the sentence against "buried talent," had he not, when invited, faithfully yet unassumingly traced the history which follows.

LAW IN ITS NATURE AND ESTABLISHMENT.

Law is defined by the scientist, "An order of sequence;" but by the jurist as "A rule of action." Both definitions are in accord.

A law is the regular order in which events, in their relation of cause and effect, follow one another. Experience, or personal history, and observation which brings in many experiences, permit a decision of the observer as to what is law, or the uniform order of cause and effect. History, according as its range is extended, adds increasing confirmation to what by individual experience might have been conceived to be law. The "law of wines" is thus to be determined. If *truth* is sought, it is attained when the effect of wines on the human constitution is ascertained as an "order of sequence." If *duty* is desired, the law of wines, once ascertained, becomes a "rule of action." Since law can not be imposed on man without a higher authority, since a majority, however numerous, have no authority to restrict the personal right of a single individual, jurists add to their definition: "Law is a rule of action prescribed by an adequate authority.' As men never have submitted willingly to mere human authority, no legislature has ever dreamed of enacting and enforcing law except as the manifest will of the Author of all, manifested either in nature or in His revealed Word. The search

for law then as "an order of sequence," and also "as a rule of action," will in vain make its appeal to the reason and conscience of men, unless it is seen to be "the Divine law." In all the history of wines here to be traced, it will be seen that the wise and the good men of earth have been seeking the "Divine law of Wines."

The maxim, "Experience is the best teacher,' thus extends and expands into the precept, "History is philosophy teaching by example." As science is "systematized" knowledge, as art is "applied" knowledge, as philosophy is "unified" knowledge, and as religion is "harmonized" knowledge, their varied yet conspiring voices should be listened to and comprehended, before the fields of history, which but echo their voices, are traversed.

THE PROVINCE OF SCIENCE, OF ART, AND OF CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS JURISPRUDENCE IN DETERMINING THE LAW OF WINES.

It is the province of science to observe and compare, to analyze and classify phenomena, so as to reach essential principles of truth as to the nature and relations of man to things and beings around him. Though the means of observing and analyzing, as by the microscope and galvanic battery, have been improved, Aristotle was the guide of Agassiz in natural history; and Hip-

pocrates and Pliny are teachers of modern physicians and encyclopedists in analyzing the properties and effects of various wines.

It is the province of art to take up principles established by science, and apply them in works of utility and beauty. The ancient Egyptian artists could not, without a knowledge now lost, have invented arts now beyond human skill. The fact that the Greeks were inimitable in sculpture and in architecture is not more palpable than the fact that the profoundest study reveals scientific methods inexplicable to modern students. It is equally noteworthy that the pictures drawn by Homer and Virgil of Calypso and the Sirens in their power over the sage and heroic Ulysses, and that the statues of Bacchus, conceived and executed by the earliest Greek sculptors, are an appeal to warn men against yielding to the first seduction of the intoxicating cup, such as modern art seldom approaches.

It is the province of the statesman to observe in his own community and generation, and to trace in the history of all nations and ages, the nature and relations of men and things so far as these interfere with the welfare of men in society No modern statesman had studied more comprehensively the social evils of wines than did Plato; no military or republican leader has more rigidly enforced its laws than Lycurgus and Numa; and

no moralists ever taught the grounds for abstinence more clearly than the wise men of Egypt, Chaldea, and India; as did Moses, Solomon, and Daniel reared among them.

It is the province of religion to gather, to systematize, and to impress on the popular mind the proofs that there is a Being who is the Author of all things and of all human relations; that the laws which control man's relations to his fellows in the family and society are not made and imposed by civil rulers, but by his and their common Maker and Father; and that instead of rebelling, therefore, against restrictive statutes conformed to laws too deep for his personal study, he should gratefully recognize the superior wisdom of men who have studied them for his good, and whose authority to enforce them has been given because the common welfare demands their observance.

THE CHIEF AIM OF THE PROPOSED INQUIRY.

The title-page of this treatise presupposes two existing facts: that men by nature have religious conviction, and that religious conviction prompts inquiry as to the law of wines. The essential nature of religious conviction and the two classes of practical duties to which that conviction prompts men were never better stated by Roman writers than when the "desire of all nations" was

realized in the Author of the Christian religion. Cicero derived the word *religio* from "relego" or "religo," meaning to review and retrace; saying "Sunt dicti religiosi ex relegendo," they are called *religious* from *retracing*. The same comprehensive writer summed up the two duties prompted by religious conviction thus: "Religio est, quæ superioris cujusdam naturæ, quam divinam vocant, curam cærimoniamque affert;" which may be rendered: "Religion is that which prompts to moral carefulness and ceremonial devotion to any superior being whom men regard divine." It is, now, religious conviction as to the moral propriety of using wines, both as a beverage and in religious rites, to which Cicero's comprehensive statement calls us. It will be found that as religious duty rests in all minds, and in all ages, on these two ideas, of carefulness as to personal moral habits, and of scrupulousness as to formal religious rites, so in all ages, distinct from all articles of diet and select among all offerings to deity, wine has been made the subject of special thought and debate.

THE PRESENT CALL FOR THIS REVIEW.

In everything that concerns man, in scientific survey, in moral reform, in religious progress, there is, as there was before Christ's coming, a "due time." In the gradual spread and power

of Christ's Gospel, there was a time for Grecian wisdom, and then for Roman power to yield to its sway; a time for frequent successive reformations where Christianity prevailed, and then for missions abroad; a time for moral reforms in civil and then in domestic associations; and now, perhaps, a time for the true law of the use of wines in social customs and ecclesiastical rites to gain its legitimate sway. Men of science are now devoted with special earnestness to the recovery of the victims of intoxication; they are noting with all the appliances of modern chemical research the effects of alcohol on the human body; and they do not fear to be regarded unscientific in maintaining the truth to which observation leads them. They declare that, in admixtures, alcohol is not only not nutritious, but more, that it is not even a stimulant, being, in fact, an irritant; and they illustrate their idea by the different effects of food, some kinds and proportions of which are nutritive and others stimulating, while any surplus in proper proportions, and some ingredients in any proportions, only inflame and irritate, being not only void of nutrition, but unhealthful in their excitement. They agree universally in declaring that pure, unadulterated alcohol is as truly a poison as antimony. If now as early as the days of Hippocrates, the earliest medical writer whose records

are preserved, the same truth is found stated, and its recognition age after age is recorded, it must be the part of those who wish to be scientific to note this testimony of successive observers.

Artists and men of letters are yet more observant; and, as of old, they are embodying truth. Gustave Doré, the magical delineator of supernatural scenes, conceived a vase of strange device for the Paris Exposition of 1878. It is a Greek "amphora" or wine-tureen, on whose brim ruddy cupids are sporting in childish innocence; but who, becoming gradually intoxicated by the mere fumes of the wine within, successively fall from the brim upon the projecting bulge of the vase below, where toads and lizards, snakes and vipers, ravenous beasts and reptiles receive and prey upon them. Strange though it seem to modern view, it is nothing else than the reconstruction of the visions of Homer and Virgil, when nymphs and sirens seduced and betrayed the Greek Ulysses and the Trojan Æneas by the inflaming intoxication of the wine-cup. If men of genius are found even before the days of Homer, long indeed before Moses' day, to have had the same vision, then it need not be wondered at that Mrs. Jameson has traced the preëminent success of the three great masters, Lionardo, Angelo, and Raphael, to their abstinence; and that the long-lived caricaturist,

Cruikshank, has enlisted in the ranks of advocates for total abstinence from all that can intoxicate. Doré has studied the spirit of the age, and sees its moral drift. He leads only by yielding to the current.

Yet again, jurists and churchmen are coming, not reluctantly, but with conscientious ardor, to weigh facts, arguments, and appeals that come from every civilized nation and their statesmen, and from every branch of the Christian Church; which latter, where established Churches prevail, finds its ultimate appeal in courts of law. In Great Britain Presbyterian Synods and Wesleyan Conferences are agitated with discussions whether unintoxicating wines may not be furnished for the Lord's Supper; and in the English Episcopal Church suit is actually brought to test the question whether the change may not be legally made. In America, the multiplying number of communicants brought into churches from the ranks of former inebriates is prompting from policy, if not for conscience' sake, the use of unintoxicating wine at the Lord's Supper. Meanwhile, in the Roman Catholic Church Archbishop Manning is heard, at London, declaring that the great evil of English Christianity is the social drinking custom; while Archbishop, now Cardinal, McCloskey, three winters ago, called on Irish Catholics to maintain

the virtue of total abstinence from intoxicating liquors, citing Christ's abstinence during his six hours of agony on the cross from the intoxicating wine offered Him, as the Divine call to that virtue. There seems, then, to come from every class of thinking men, scientists, artists, jurists, and moralists, a common call to review the question of wines in religious uses.

THE MATERIALS FOR THIS SURVEY.

It is remarkable that universal literature should be permeated by statements of facts and principles relating to the use of wines; an indication most manifest that mankind have found in it a theme worthy of consideration. Prior to the records of Moses, among the codes of law alluded to by him as inferior to his own writings (Deut. iv. 8), in Chaldea, Egypt, and India, a learned class left records which indicate that men had, at that early day, so observed the effects of the use of wines as to make them the subjects of legislation. Thus the "Institutes of Menu," the last of the Indian Vedas, embody as statutes founded on "immemorial customs," laws prohibiting its use; while also like Egyptian statutes are recorded. The Hebrew Scriptures of three special ages, the patriarchal history and body of laws written by Moses, the lyric and didactic poems of the early kings David and

Solomon, and the prophetic and historic records of the nation's decline, are full of pictures of the evils of wine-drinking; and their statements are illustrated, as well as amplified, in successive Greek, Latin, and modern European translations, in the comments, during successive ages, of Hebrew and Christian scholars, and by modern Hebraists. The long line of Greek and Roman classic writers, poets and moralists, physicians and naturalists, statesmen and horticulturists, present testimonies as varied and as impressive as those of Byron and Cowper, yet all conspiring. The New Testament example and teaching of Jesus and of His Apostles, and the testimony of men in succeeding ages and differing divisions of the Christian Church, such as Clement, Jerome, and Aquinas, as to the meaning of those teachings, is the central and authoritative Christian guide. The Talmud and later Hebrew traditions as to Old Testament customs, the statutes of the Arabian prophet, borrowed from Christian precepts as well as from experience as a legislator, and the mediæval corruptions of Jewish, Christian and Muhammedan festivities, bridge over the dark period that ushers in modern progress. Lastly, the multiplied studies and encyclopedic treatises of modern English and American advocates of social, moral and religious reforms, often controversial and even partisan, but pro-

found in thought and scholarly in research, demand long and calm consideration, that the balance of truth may give just weight to opposite opinions and to apparently conflicting statements of fact.

CAUSES OF DIFFERING CONCLUSIONS.

In the almost interminable labyrinth of historic records relating to the use of wines, not only the map of the field just outlined, but also some clues to lead the student out of the necessary intricacies in which some explorers have become involved, seem to be needed. A few hints, gathered through readings of nearly half a century from earliest childhood, may give aid to some perplexed inquirer.

First.—The broadness of the field of survey compels the selection of central points of observation, and a grouping of minor details under leading principles. Many now ask, as if the suggestion were a new one, "Why, if the wine of Christ's employ were unintoxicating—why has not the fact been sooner brought out and a purer practice been maintained?" Among those familiar with the discussions on almost every point of Christian truth now existing, such as divorce, slavery, etc., which are but the reverberating echoes of centuries and ages, this suggestion in the first place awakens a conception

of the limitless field of survey. Modern science in every department invites division of labor; a single branch of the great study, if exhaustive, demanding a life employ. It is the work of a collator of such multiplied and minute observations to search for the common principles, and to aim at an analytic grouping of kindred facts, whose undigested presentation confuses instead of guiding.

Second.—The fact that the eye must furnish the only fully apprehended facts for reasoning on any subject, intimates that personal observation may modify impressions gained by mere reading. This is preëminently noteworthy in the profound researches of German scholarship. While Egypt and Syria were shut up by Muhammedan prejudice, Von Bohlen argued the late origin of the books said to be those of Moses; because, while these books refer to wine in Egypt, Plutarch states that the Egyptians did not drink wine before the time of Psammiticus, and at that time did not offer it in sacrifice. Hengstenberg, replying when the French invasion revealed the culture of the vine and the making of wine as existing in the days of Abraham,—even Hengstenberg but half comprehends the import of Plutarch's statement, and positively denies an apparent statement of Herodotus that "the vine was not cultured in Egypt." Thorough personal obser-

vation would have revealed the fact that in the Valley of the Nile, reaching like Italy and the American coast through hundreds of miles from north to south, with every variety of soil and product though not of clime, Herodotus is speaking only of *lower* Egypt; while Plutarch refers specially to the priests, or learned class, and means by "wine," in that connection, intoxicating as distinct from the unintoxicating products of the vine. Again, the limit of the special explorer's field, the age in which he lives, and the local and popular meaning of terms, may restrict his view, and prevent the comprehensiveness of a conscientious reporter. The differing reports of Rev. Eli Smith, in the mountains of Lebanon, and of Rev. Mr. Homes, at Constantinople, made within two years' time, 1846 and 1848, recall the fact that the ancient Israelites had varieties of wines; that Jerome, living for thirty years in Palestine, describes intoxicating and unintoxicating wine (*vinum*); that the Arabic lexicographer Freytag and the French vocabularies give the common name, "*vinum*" and "*vin*," to "khamreh," the fermented, and to "sherbet," the unfermented product of the vine.

Third.—The fact that the influence of social custom, and especially of personal habit, causes an unconscious overlooking of facts conflicting with prevalent opinions and observations, must

be overcome before all the facts and principles brought before an inquirer's mind can be rightly judged. Any thoughtful reader of Horace, Athenæus, Byron, and kindred votaries of luxury and frivolity, must weigh against them the sober statements of Virgil, Plutarch, Young, and like calm reporters of truth for the sake of men's instruction; or the spirit of recent English treatises on the use of wine will be sure to mislead. The important truth to note is, that both classes alike picture the law and its penalty: while the one class make the law their sport during the hour of indulgence, and its penalty their curse when too late it is fastened upon them. The recent meeting of such a mind as that of the Rev. A. M. Wilson, of Bathgate, England with such a testimony as that of Prof. Moses Stuart, of Andover, New England, is a marked illustration of the effect of different moods, the serious or sarcastic, in viewing the same facts.

Fourth.—The fact that the practical judgment of men of differing temperaments may fail to appreciate the extreme leanings to which conscientious conviction may lead wise and good men indicates the necessity of deciding what is the law of duty as to the use of wine. Without doubt the Nazarite vow of total abstinence not only from intoxicating wines, but from any nutritious product of the vine, appears at first extreme and

illegitimate. Yet, there may have been no extreme, but conformity to strict law in such abstinence. The profound ethical writer, Aristotle, who was merely putting into form the recognized principle of the wise in all ages, defined virtue as the medium between extremes. The virtue in physical indulgence is temperance, the medium between luxury and abstemiousness. His two rules for the application of this principle, however, are the following: *First*, when the danger is all on one side, abstinence doing no injury, while indulgence might injure, it is virtue to keep to the extreme on the safe side. *Second*, when a wrong habit has been formed, a bent, as in straightening a bow, to the opposite extreme is absolutely necessary. The extreme of abstinence in John, Christ's forerunner, was as truly God's law for a man of his impulsive nature as was Christ's use of unintoxicating wine God's law for Him and His future followers.

Fifth.—Since, in ancient as well as modern writers, established facts may be stated amid observations and opinions only incidental and partial, which seem to be adverse to the main truth, no prejudice against the main truth should arise because of these apparently conflicting statements of a writer, or because of the careless overstatement and often unwise pride of scholarship on

the part of those who have misquoted the writer. Thus the statements of Solomon, "Wine is a mocker," "At last it biteth like a serpent," "It is not for princes to drink wine,"—these are unqualified in their declaration; and hence all qualified utterances that seem to modify their manifest assertion should not override, but be made to harmonize with these declarations. Again, the Hebrew word *yayin* is without question *generic*, rather than special, including many species of wines that have more or less of the intoxicating quality; and yet *yayin* is not, like the Greek *oinos*, the *ultimate* genus; for the Greek translators of the Hebrew Scriptures not only employed *oinos* to represent the Hebrew *yayin*, but also to represent the Hebrew *tirosh*, which is not included in the class *yayin*. Again, the masculine Greek adjective *glukus* applied to *oinos*, rendered "sweet wine," may be shown by the best authorities to indicate wines in which limited ferment has taken place, and in which, therefore, a small proportion of alcohol has been traced. But, on the other hand, the neuter noun *glukos*, sometimes written *gleukos*, contrasted as to its medicinal qualities by Hippocrates, the earliest Greek medical writer, with "sweet wine," is wine in which the first ferment has been prevented, so that it is the Latin *mustum*, or unfermented grape-juice. The fact that the failure to

make these distinctions, just named, has led to volumes of controversy, which only the distinction here stated can reconcile, indicates the importance of this rule for the examination and citation of authorities.

Sixth.—The most subtle, because frequently the *unconscious* occasion of conflict in the estimate of facts relating to wines in religious uses, is the influence of professional etiquette, in expressing, if not in forming, an opinion adverse to present customs and convictions. Physicians, who ought to be the best judges of the nature and influence of alcoholic drinks, seem often to regard themselves bound by fidelity to the principles of their school or of their profession; and are, therefore, indisposed to utter a scientific conviction adverse to that of their less thoughtful and conscientious associates. Indeed, even Christian missionaries, with special facilities for independent observation, may be balanced between the question whether it is their duty to foster controversy by taking part in discussions which may seem to many not of vital moment. It is only by tracing the impartial judgment of medical men from Hippocrates down to our own day, and among physicians, noting carefully the testimony of "specialists," like the physician of Alexander the Great, and the superintendents of modern inebriate hospitals, that the real in-

fluence of alcohol on the human system can be known as a science. Again, when the first glance impressions of devoted missionaries, as noble in spirit as Dr. Duff, of Calcutta, are apparently repressed by manifestoes placed before them for their signature, the humble searcher for truth must weigh the circumstances, if he would give proper weight to the missionary's unbiased first impressions as against his courtesy when discovering that unwittingly the truth has wounded those wedded to a social custom.

Seventh.—While professional etiquette may lead to the withholding of individual conviction as to the influence of alcoholic drinks, want of discrimination in observation or in statement may lead to a failure to distinguish between the nature and action of alcohol itself, which is but one of the ingredients in intoxicating wines, and the action of other ingredients of those wines which are nutritive, stimulating, or otherwise medicinal. Without question, the boiled wines of the ancients, from which the alcohol had been in part expelled by heat, and which were found to be so much less inebriating that a larger amount could be drunk with impunity—without question, these wines had, in a more concentrated form, the nutritive and restorative qualities of the grape-juice from which they were made. So, in modern wines, burnt brandy, in cookery or in

medicine, from which the alcohol is expelled, is both nutritious and medicinal. When, therefore, the medical faculties prescribe wines and brandies as restoratives from the exhaustion of fever, it is reasonable to ask, as it was asked in ancient times, would not these wines and brandies thus prescribed be even more efficacious if the alcoholic quality were extracted? When from the days of Hippocrates this discrimination seems to have been made by Greek physicians, it is worthy of consideration whether more harmony in the prescriptions of modern scientific physicians would not be found to prevail, if the question were asked and answered, "Which of the ingredients in wines and brandies is the restorative? Is it the portion of the natural grape-juice which has been converted into alcohol, or that which is not alcohol, that gives stimulating nutriment?" In the historic survey here attempted this last rule will be found of special importance.

Guided now by these principles of judgment, the now acknowledged results of modern scientific investigation as to the nature and origin of alcohol, and its action on the human system, may be more intelligently considered. In the historic survey which is to follow that consideration, the leading principles of investigation above stated will be found to have been practically recognized. Hence the opinions deduced from the facts which

have guided legislators and moral and religious teachers, may be the better appreciated; and the weight to be given to these convictions of men of other ages, in their bearing on modern questions as to the law of wines, may perhaps become more apparent.

ELEMENTS IN GRAPE-JUICE WHICH GIVE ORIGIN TO FERMENT.

In grape-juice are found two of the leading ingredients which furnish nutrition to plant and animal organism: sugar, composed of the three chemical elements, carbon, hydrogen, and oxygen; and gluten or albumen, composed of the four elements, carbon, hydrogen, oxygen and nitrogen, to which is also added a small amount of sulphur and phosphorus. The watery, sweet juice, flowing between the skin and the central seed-envelope, is chiefly sugar dissolved in water; while the gluten is gathered in the pulp that lines the skin and in the seed-envelope at the center of the grape. Nitrogen, in all its compounds, is an unstable element; ready to release itself from one union and to seek another. Hence it has a double office: to hasten the decay and decomposition of worn-out vegetable and animal organisms; and this, that it may fulfill its main mission of acting as the propelling agent in the composition and promotion of new organisms.

It is at once the destroyer of old and the organizer of new compounds.

When the two classes of nutritious ingredients found in the grape-juice, namely, sugar and albumen, are in contact, the nitrogen of the albumen is disposed to act on the sugar, and change it into new ingredients. In order to this action, two intermediate agents must be present: water and the oxygen of the air. The impenetrable skin of the grape excludes the oxygen of the air, and by the process of drying the water may be evaporated through the skin, so that the action of the albumen on the sugar will be permanently prevented. The dried raisin may be kept for years unchanged. If, however, the skin be ruptured, and the approach of the oxygen of the air be secured, a chemical change immediately commences, which in a few hours will become apparent; and which, if unarrested, will cause a series of transformations in the compounds successively developed. If, however, when the skin is thus ruptured, the watery, sweet juice be gently pressed out, so as to leave the glutinous albumen in the skin, the sugar will be so separated from the albumen that the change produced will be very slight. On the contrary, if a heavy pressure be exerted on the grape, which shall expel the albumen as well as the sugar, and leave them mingled together in the open air, the

chemical changes will be both rapid and radical. The changes thus wrought are called "ferments;" changes whose laws have been practically known to mankind in all ages the records of whose history are preserved.

THE NATURE OF FERMENT AND ITS PRODUCTS.

The word "ferment," from the Latin *fervere*, to boil, whence also the word "effervesce," calls attention to the rise and escape of bubbles, which soon appears when expressed grape-juice is exposed to the air. It is likewise observed in the action of yeast on rising bread, and in the effervescence of soda-water, beer, cider, and corked wines. This ebullition is but the visible indication of connected changes, by which the elements composing grape-sugar are converted into compounds including eight subdivisions; two of which are alcohol, two water, and four carbonic acid gas, whose escape causes the observed effervescence. The following table indicates, first, the chemical elements in the grape-sugar; second, their redistribution after the first ferment.

Grape-sugar contains, and its three results, alcohol, water, and carbonic acid, receive, the following elements in the proportions indicated by their numbers:

COMPOUNDS.—ELEMENTS IN THEIR PROPORTIONS

	Carbon.	*Hydrogen.*	*Oxygen.*
Grape-sugar	12	14	14
Alcohol	8	12	4
Water	0	2	2
Carbonic acid	4	0	8
Total	12	14	14

The presence of a large proportion of water, mixed with the sugar in grape-juice, causes the proportion of alcohol in wines to be small; although, as indicated, 24 parts out of 40 equivalents found in the grape-sugar itself have been converted into alcohol. It is the alcohol which forms the intoxicating element in wines. This ferment, however, called the "vinous or alcoholic ferment," is but the first stage tending to an ultimate result; which, if Nature be not interfered with in her law of action, will soon appear.

In the vinous ferment, the change of grape-sugar into alcohol, water, and carbonic acid gas will go on till all the sugar is transformed; while the exhaustion of the nitrogen in the albumen is but partial. The remaining albumen now begins to act upon the alcohol, diluted as it is in water. In this action, the alcohol is first decomposed by the union of two atoms of its hydrogen with two portions of oxygen from the air; furnishing thus the two compounds, aldehyde and water.

The ferment proper here ceases; but by oxida tion two more atoms of oxygen are absorbed by the new compound aldehyde, thus converting it into acetic acid or vinegar; the nutritive compound, which, as its name, derived from the French, indicates, is simply "sour wine." And yet Nature's end is not complete.

The universally recognized chemical changes thus wrought in Nature by ferment may be traced in any one of the ordinary text-books, as those of Silliman, Wells, Youmans, Rolfe and Gillet; they may be historically reviewed in the exhaustive articles found in the best English, French, and American encyclopedias; or they may be analyzed in their scientific principles as they touch on philosophic theories, in such works as those of Liebig and Helmholtz. The important truth to hold in mind in all this examination is, that we are not entitled to infer authoritatively what is the design of the Creator until we have reached the last of the series of the changes wrought by ferment. The three upon which attention is to be fixed are, first, the formation of alcohol; second, of vinegar; third, of food for new plants and animals.

Liebig, of Germany, says, that "while the vinous ferment is going on, the acetous ferment can not begin;" thus indicating that the forming of alcohol is but the first in successive

changes designed by the Creator. Colon, of France, more fully indicates the formation of alcohol as a transition change, by stating that acetous, or the second stage of ferment, is the "portant l'alcool d'une liqueur spiritueuse à celui de vin aigre"—the "carrying over the alcohol of a spirituous liquor to that of sour wine." Liebig, and others, again, call attention to the fact that cane-sugar must be converted into grape-sugar, and the starch of grain be transformed into the same sugar, before vinous or alcoholic ferment can take place. Hence, in obtaining spirituous liquors, such as beer, from grain, advantage is taken of the fact, that in the germination of any seed, as barley, the starch in the seed-envelope is by the moisture and heat converted into sugar as the germ sprouts and grows. Hence, malt for beer is prepared by moistening and gently heating the grain; then allowing it to sprout until the starch is converted into sugar; and then destroying the germ and concentrating the sugar by drying and baking; after which the glutinous ferment can be added, and made to act. Helmholtz discovered that, as ferment proceeds, living plant-organisms are formed; and though it was at first overlooked that these organisms spring from germs of microscopic minuteness floating in the air, which the action of the nitrogen in the ferment causes to develop into cell-

formations, Helmholtz reached the legit mate conclusion that ferment is ultimately designed to nurture new life. Certainly the mind that stops short at the first product of ferment, the alcohol, which will be changed into vinegar if left to pass into nature's second product, is not entitled to decide that alcohol is a product designed for man's use by his Creator. All putrefaction, of which ferment is one form, has as its ultimate design to start and nurture new forms of life.

THE NATURE OF ALCOHOL, AND ITS EFFECT ON THE HUMAN SYSTEM.

As already noted, but a portion of the elements constituting sugar are converted by ferment into alcohol; and as a large portion of grape-juice is water, in which the sugar is dissolved, the alcohol in wine may be but a small ingredient. It is important to note what alcohol, in its concentrated essence, is; since its effect on the system may be partially neutralized by other ingredients drunk with it.

The name al-cohol is Arabic; and is in itself most significant. As alcohol is converted at a heat of 173° F. from its fluid into a gaseous form, a heat of about 175° will cause the alcohol in wine to pass off in vapor; while most of the water, which evaporates partially at any temper-

ature, but rapidly and completely at 212° F., remains with the other ingredients of the wine. This vapor of alcohol, thus driven off with some water-vapor accompanying it, may be made to pass through a cool pipe or still, and be condensed again into a liquid, most of which is pure alcohol. Alcohol was thus obtained in the twelfth century by Al-Bucasis, an Arabian chemist; in the thirteenth century, Raymond Sully removed the remaining water by quicklime; and in the latter part of the eighteenth century, Lavoisier and Saussure, French chemists, analyzed pure alcohol, showing the elements of which it is composed.

The fact that the Arabian chemist who first concentrated alcohol, discovered by experiment that it was a most deadly poison, led to its designation. The Arabic name for sulphuret of antimony, the mineral poison known to the Greeks as *stimini*, and to the Romans as *stibium*, is *kohl*. Known to the Egyptians in the earliest times, this compound was used by women to paint the inner rim of the eyelids, so as to make a dark ring about the eyes, thus setting off the white of the eyeball by the strong contrast of color. This fancied decoration, continued in all ages on the east of the Mediterranean, after a time deadens the secretions of the skin, causing at last the eyelashes to fall out. In the tombs

of Egypt, among other articles for the toilet deposited with the dead, were small wooden bottles of this sulphuret of antimony, with the sticks used to apply it to the eyelids; and the Arabs recognize the article as the *kohl* of their bazaars and toilet-tables. The properties of this compound are fully described by Dioscorides, a Greek botanist and physician, who, in the time of Nero and of Christ's Apostles, traveled throughout the Roman Empire in Europe, Asia and Africa, and prepared five books "On the Materia Medica" (Peri Hyles Iatrikes), which became the standard authority for fifteen centuries. It is this work which gives clearness to the views of ancient Greek physicians as to the influence of "wine" as a medicament. The name *kohl* is derived from *kahal*, a verb meaning to "paint with antimony;" with the secondary meaning to "render sterile." The application of this term, al-cohol, *the* concentrated *kohl*, indicates its character as recognized by the first observers. All medical and chemical authorities agree that pure alcohol is a most active poison; excoriating and deadening when applied externally to the skin; and yet more active and deadly when received inwardly upon the delicate membranes of the mouth, throat, and stomach.

This universally recognized and admitted fact, that concentrated alcohol is an active poison,

prepares the way for a harmonizing of the statements of ancient and modern observers as to the action of diluted alcohol; especially for the ancient Grecian and Roman distinction between wines mixed and unmixed — sweet, sour, and pure—and between must and wine; as also many other specific designations which have prevailed from the days of Hippocrates, the earliest Greek physician. It will especially show why Hippocrates styled pure, unmixed wine as a medicament, *pharmakon*; and why all through the history of Greco-Latin literature, Philo, the Hebrew, Pliny the Roman, Jerome and other Christian writers, designated pure or intoxicating wine as "venenum," poison. It explains, too, why the ablest English and American physicians, called to the self-denying, patient, and conscientious effort to cure inebriates, and resorting to every form of experiment to test the action of alcohol, in the minutest quantities, on the human system, have become more and more unanimous in their declared convictions. While the ingredients of wine and of malt liquors, as well as of brandies prepared from them, may have valuable nutritive and medicinal qualities, it is quite otherwise with the alcohol that is intermixed with them. Alcohol imbibed by a healthy person passes undigested and unchanged through the system, exciting to a feverish action the tis-

sues, especially those of the nerves, which it touches; and it is finally discharged unchanged mainly through the exhalations of the skin and lungs; being, in fact, expelled as an intruder. Alcohol imbibed in disease, as even Hippocrates discovered, instead of being a healthful stimulant, is rather an overacting irritant. Like the mineral medicines used by truly scientific pharmacy, it may be resorted to as a choice of evils; but it is a resort most ruinous in its effect if employed in any other than cases where a powerful irritant is necessary.

RESORTS TO ARREST FERMENT IN WINES AND DIMINISH ITS ALCOHOL.

In all the survey thus far followed, and in all the history yet to be traced, it should be distinctly kept in mind that *distilled* intoxicants are modern inventions; and it is not their nature or effects which is in question. It is the alcoholic property in fermented wines alone, which, mingled with other and nutritive properties in the juice of the grape, is the theme of ancient and medieval history; and it is the nature and effect of alcohol hidden in wines that is to be considered.

It might be expected that the early knowledge that alcohol is an irritant, and in that respect a poison, would prompt the wise and the

good, the men of science and of humanity, to seek some method of diminishing, if not of averting, the tendency of human nature to use alcoholic drinks not only as a luxury, but as a relief, such as alcoholic liquors, doubtless, do temporarily afford, from the penalty of over-indulgence or overwork. For, universal observation has adduced these three as the causes which tempt men to the use of alcoholic beverages: *first*, those who indulge in the luxuries of the table, seek the stimulus of wine to counteract the natural law which should check overeating; *second*, those who have overworked, either physically or mentally, begin its use as a temporary recuperation, forgetting that true recuperation can only come by cessation from toil; *third*, those whom disappointed hope or bodily disease prompts to seek relief for the hour by drowning thought and sensibility. The history of all ages shows that not only the responsible guardians of society, but even the victims of inebriation, have recognized that alcohol, or the intoxicating quality in wines, is one to be either restricted or diminished, if not entirely eradicated. It is a surprising confirmation of the like promptings of human instinct and the like convictions of common experience, that they have led to substantially the same resorts in all ages to diminish the intoxicating quality of fermented wines.

From the nature of grape-juice and the causes of ferment in it, various methods of preventing and also of limiting the formation of its intoxicating property have been suggested in ages ancient and modern. *First.* As the presence of water is essential to the formation of alcohol from grape-sugar, the simple drying of the grape before the skin is broken permanently arrests alcoholic ferment; a fact which permits the Jews of modern times to produce from crushed and moistened raisins the original grape-juice in preparing their Paschal wines. *Second.* As the sugar in the grape is concentrated in the flowing juice, while the albumen which causes ferment is in the pulp lining the skin and inclosing the seeds, a separation of these two prevents ferment. This was effected by the Romans, and even by the Egyptians, in these two ways: first, by gently pressing the grapes so that the sweet fluid alone oozed from the skins; second, by straining the juice in the vat so as to exclude the pulpy portions. *Third.* As a temperature above 50° F., and thence to about 85°, is essential for the ferment that raises bread, causes seed to germinate, and produces alcohol, the placing of grape-juice in cold water or in a cool cellar arrests ferment. *Fourth.* As the presence of oxygen in the air is essential to acetous, if not to vinous fermentation, exclusion of the air by tight cork-

ing arrests, if it does not entirely prevent, fermentation. *Fifth.* As artificial heating drives off water, whose presence is essential to fermentation, the boiling of grape-juice to a syrup, the *debhs* of the Hebrews and the *dibs* of the Arabs, prevents the formation of alcohol. *Sixth.* As the increase of the proportion of sulphur in the albuminous parts of grape-juice is found to limit the action of its nitrogenous element, ancient experiment as well as modern science has attested that the addition of sulphur, found in the sulphurous pumice-stone of volcanic Italy, arrests the alcoholic fermentation in grape-juice. The fact that by these processes throughout the Roman Empire before Christ's day, unintoxicating *must* formed from grape-juice, as well as sweet drinks, like the *sherbets* of modern Palestine and the Levant, were in common use, and were especially employed in religious rites, must serve as a guiding light in tracing the law of wines in religious uses.

Since, however, another class of facts, in the ancient history of wines, has arrested the attention of many modern scholars, the methods of limiting and diminishing the proportion of the intoxicating element in wines must also be enumerated. *First.* As the action of the albuminous ingredients of grape-juice, when not excluded by straining, is gradual in the formation of alco-

hol, the arrest at any stage of the alcoholic ferment by either of the methods used to anticipate and prevent that ferment, would limit the amount of the intoxicating quality in wines. *Second.* Effervescing wines have in all ages been obtained by arresting at an early stage the ferment, and bottling wine in flasks strong enough to resist the pressure of still forming carbonic acid; as sparkling beers, ciders, and the wines called "Champagne," are now preserved. *Third.* Sweet wines have been obtained by drawing off the sugary from the albuminous parts of grape-juice, and thus allowing but a limited portion of ferment to remain; so that after the albumen is exhausted much of the sugar is unaffected; when, by corking, the acetic ferment is also prevented. *Fourth.* Sour wines have been obtained in two ways in southern latitudes: by allowing the acetic ferment to follow and to correct, to a certain extent, the alcoholic ferment, producing wines which are commented upon by Grecian and Roman writers; or, in northern latitudes, from grapes not ripened fully by the northern sun, and retaining largely the acid of the unripe grape, as is seen in modern Rhine wines. *Fifth.* Mulled, or softened wines, have been prepared by being boiled at an early stage of fermentation, thus expelling alcohol and deadening the albumen, and by adding sugar and spices. *Sixth.* Wines in

which the alcoholic ferment is complete have, in all ages, been diluted with water, so as, according to the ancient witnesses to be cited, to deaden the "poison" always to be dreaded in "unmixed wine." A careful fixing in mind that, for "religious" reasons, wise and good men have, in all ages, used these varied and carefully-studied methods of limiting, and thus correcting the inebriating influence of pure wines, will help to harmonize the statements of those who contend that intoxicating wines are, and always have been, deemed appropriate in Jewish and Christian rites.

WINE IN THE EARLIEST HISTORIC AGES.

The nations successively known in history have all had a traditional or prehistoric period. The first developed peoples of Asia attained their historic period 2,000 years before Christ; those in the successive European nations, Grecian, Roman, and German, came later and gradually to be known in written records; while the tribes of Africa are still unknown in their rudeness. The period of earliest historic records here to be traced, so far as wine is concerned, extends from the age of Noah to Jacob; during the latter part of which period Asiatic nationalities were beginning to consolidate. The records of this history are found in the first book of Moses' history and

in the poem of Job; while the representations on Egyptian monuments, and the allusions of Grecian and Roman historians to the earliest preserved traditions, add to the light of those written records.

It is recorded of the pious patriarch who was preserved from the Deluge (Gen. ix. 20, 21): "Noah began to be a husbandman, and he planted a vineyard. And he drank of the wine thereof, and was drunken." Origen, the eminent Christian writer who, about A. D. 230 to 270, was employed twenty-eight years in revising the text of the Greek translation of the Old Testament, makes this important comment on this record. The expression "began to be," indicating inexperience, suggests a marked contrast between the sin of Adam, who, by express command, was warned against the forbidden tree; while Noah, with a like temptation, was to learn only by experience a law which, when learned, was to control his future conduct. In harmony with this is the record of Lot; who from worldly inclinations, fostered by corrupting female influence, was drugged, perhaps unconsciously, yet not without guilt (Gen. xix. 33). The curse on the son who indecently sported with his father's shame (Gen. ix. 24); and the debasing prostitution of the daughters who drugged their weak father, are Moses' own unmistakable comment

on this earliest illustration that "wine is a mocker;" to be resisted as truly as the tempter in Eden. The terms in which Moses, commenting on his own record, characterizes the wine with which Noah was drugged, calling it "the wine of Sodom, the poison of dragons" (Deut. xxxii. 32, 33), indicates the recognition of the two classes of wines, intoxicating and unintoxicating, which he makes throughout his connected writings. The comments of the Talmud will be seen in their place as the suggestion of their age.

In contrast with this abuse of intoxicating wine, a series of records indicates an early knowledge of the mode of preparing the juice of the grape without those intoxicating qualities which destroy health, reason, morality, and piety. Melchisedek, the type of the Divine Redeemer (Gen. xiv. 18; Heb. vii. 1–17), is related to have brought forth, as "the priest of Most High God, bread and wine," of which Abraham, the head of the family through whom Christ was to descend, was made to partake; an incident so manifestly anticipatory of Christ's ordinance, first of the Passover, and again of the Supper, that Jewish and Christian scholars have remarked the parallel. Josephus calls attention to the residence of Abraham at this era near Hebron, at the mouth of the valley of Eshcol, which had given a home to one of the military chiefs then confed-

ate with him (Gen. xiii. 18; xiv. 24); a region which then, as ever after to this day, has furnished the purest and sweetest of products of the vine. In keeping with this fact are several incidents of Abraham's descendants for three generations. Isaac, in blessing his sons, after partaking of the wine brought by Jacob, asks for Jacob "plenty of corn and wine," and for Esau likewise, the same "fatness of the earth" (Gen. xxvii. 25–39); a record which indicates that the grape, as universal a product as is grain, is, in its simple nature, as much a Divine and blessed gift as is the bread associated with it. The use of the word *tirosh*, as distinct from *yayin*, for the first time in this record indicates, as will be seen further on, the introduction either of a new product of the grape, or the era of more careful distinction among its products, which the patriarchs, by experience, had found to be important. The record of the Egyptian butler's dream, interpreted by Joseph, indicates yet more the distinction in wines according to the mode of preparing, which guides the pen of Moses. In the dream, the whole process of the budding, blossoming, forming, and maturing of the grape-cluster on the vine passes before the butler; and then his own pressing of the juice into Pharaoh's cup. The full significance of this picture of that age will appear in our notice of wines in Egypt;

and it is sufficient here to observe the explanation given by Josephus, the Jewish historian. "The butler related," Josephus writes (Ant. II. v. 2), "that he squeezed the clusters into a cup which the king held in his hand; and when he had strained the sweet-juice (gleukos), he gave it to the king to drink." The mode of preparation, verified by the monuments of Egypt, the distinction made by the Jewish commentator between *gleukos*, sweet-juice, and *oinos glukos*, sweet-wine, soon to be noted, indicates that Moses, in this record of the patriarchal age, is preparing the way for the reception of his own laws as to the use of wine. It is to be noted that the word "wine" does not appear in this record; a fact which guides Jerome, the early Latin translator and commentator, when he compares the wine of the Lord's Supper with this of Joseph's day. This record, too, is, without doubt, a guide to the allusion made by Moses to the entertainment given by Joseph to his brethren, when "they drank and were filled" (Gen. xliii. 34); the word "wine" here, as in the previous statement, not appearing. Yet another and important fact appears in the contrasted mention of "honey," Hebrew, *debsh*, Arab, *dibs*, or grape-syrup, sent by Jacob (Gen. xliii. 11) as a present to Joseph; this mention indicating that in the patriarchal age, as now under Mu-

hammedan rule, the grape-juice, so abundant in the valleys north of Hebron, was converted into a syrup which forms an important article of commerce. This connection, as well as the wording of Moses' record, explains Jacob's blessing on Judah, who was afterward to inherit the valleys which his ancestors from Abraham had occupied; where the vines, besides yielding an abundance of grapes for man's consumption, would furnish food for the beasts of burden that bore the products of the vintage to the wine-vats; Judah "binding his foal unto the vine, even his ass's colt unto the choice vine;" while "he washed" or saturated "his garments in wine and his clothes in the blood of grapes." No impartial student of this record of history, which Moses made an introduction to his laws, can fail to learn the lessons which the laws of the Egyptians, Chaldeans, and Indians, as well as of Moses, are adapted to impress.

In the poem of Job, whose life, extended to the age of the earlier ancestry of Abraham (Job xlii. 16), and whose residence was in or nigh to the land of the "Chaldeans," from whose chief city Abraham's father migrated (Job i. 17; Gen. xi. 31), the history of wine as used by religious men in the earliest patriarchal times is illustrated. At the opening of the history, preceding the poem proper, Job's children, sons and daughters,

are described as "drinking wine" at their birth day feasts; while Job, watchful and anxious, fearing, "after their feast-days," that they may have "sinned" by indulgence, calls them to the sacrifices then offered in propitiation (Job i. 4, 5, 13, 18). The "grape," the products of "vine-yards, of vintage, and of the wine-presses," are reckoned among Divine gifts (xv. 33; xxiv. 6, 11, 18); while their perversion by those "drunken" with intoxicating wine, is pictured by Job as a debasement which the instinct of "beasts" avoids; the beasts being more wise than "kings" when wine "takes away the heart of the chief of the people" (xii. 4, 7, 24, 25). Most important of all, in this record of an age among the earliest historically described, the modes of preparing and guarding wines in their ferment, as well as the import of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin terms, as explanatory of each other, is fixed for all future history. In the record (xxxii. 19), "My belly is as wine which has no vent; it is ready to burst like new bottles," the Hebrew for "wine" is *yayin*, the Greek of the Hebrew translators is *gleukos*, and the Latin of Jerome is *mustum*; thus establishing the fact that the Hebrew *yayin* is a generic word, including unfermented grape-juice as well as fermented wine. Again, in the statement as to the defrauder (xx. 15), that he who has "swallowed down riches shall vomit

them up again—God shall cast them up again," as we shall see, the word *yarash*, "cast up," from which *tirosh* is derived, gives the first and clearest intimation as to the distinction made by the Hebrews between two kinds of wines—the laxative and the intoxicating. In fact, in all important particulars, these plain distinctions made in the patriarchal age as to wines, both in their witnessed effects and in the study of preparations by which intoxication may be prevented, give the key to solve the complicated statements of writers on Old Testament wines in all subsequent ages.

WINES IN EARLY CHALDEAN, EGYPTIAN, AND INDIAN USAGES AND LAWS

Historians of all modern schools, alike the rationalist, Bunsen, and the traditional Wilkinson, agree in making the early seat of Asiatic civilization to have been in the valley of the Euphrates, and thence to have extended to the valleys of the Nile on the west, and of the Indus on the east. Before the days of Abraham, as Chaldean and Egyptian historians, cited alike by the Greek Herodotus, the Roman Diodorus and Strabo, and the Hebrew Josephus agree, literature and laws had reached an advanced stage before Moses, the founder of the Jewish State, was "learned in all the wisdom of the

Egyptians." The marriage of Joseph to the daughter of the *kohen* or "president" of the College of On (Gen. xli. 45), two centuries before Moses lived, shows the Egyptian advance; the use by Moses, and by subsequent Hebrew writers, of more than one hundred words — more than one-tenth of all the roots, and one-third of all those expressive of spiritual conceptions—common to the Sanscrit or Chaldee, confirms the intimacy of national intercourse then existing; while his frequent allusions to literary works then existing (Num. xxi. 14, 27; Deut. iv. 8), with which his own are compared, shows that not only Moses, but the Hebrew people at large, were familiar with Chaldean and Indian letters through an Egyptian culture. The usages and laws of these early nations as to wines will throw a light, therefore, on the records and statutes of Moses, written as they were with those precedents before him. The use of wine among the Chaldeans, the first known cultured nation of the earth, growing up at the earliest seat of civilization on the Euphrates, begins with the records already cited from the book of Job; while their advanced culture is to be traced in later Hebrew, Grecian, and Latin historians. Modern explorations, begun by Layard, reveal the existence of implements for straining wine. Herodotus mentions the palm-tree as abounding in their

country, and the use of palm wine; and Daniel refers to the drinking of wine at the feasts of their kings. The learned class, however, accorded in their ideas of the benefit of abstinence from wine with their Indian and Egyptian associates.

The records of Greek and Roman writers as to the use of wine in Egypt have been construed as conflicting, especially by German writers; but the calm judgment of such explorers as Wilkinson, and the principles we have above considered, give consistency to their statements. Herodotus states (II. 77) as an eye-witness, that in "that part of Egypt which is sown with wheat . . . . they use wine made of barley, for they have no wine." The savans of Napoleon (Descrip. de l'Egypt, tom. vi., p. 124), who found the walls of monuments in Upper Egypt covered with representations of the culture of the vine and the making of wines, think Herodotus unreliable; an opinion shared by Hengstenberg (Egypt and books of Moses Introd.) Careful observers, however, find that the vine, like most products, cannot be indigenous to a soil covered three months in the year by the inundation of the Nile; that in Lower Eyypt it is found only in gardens shut out from overflow; while it is in Upper Egypt, five hundred miles south, that the precipitous river-banks make the Upper Nile

like the Upper Rhine, a natural wine region. Herodotus mentions (II. 133) that Mycerinus, the builder of the third pyramid, whom Sir Gardner Wilkinson regards as having reigned from B. C. 2,043 to 2,001, nearly a century before Abraham's visit, gave himself up to luxury in the latter part of his reign; and Herodotus uses the expression "he drank and enjoyed himself, never ceasing day and night;" the implication being, though the word wine is not used, that he drank intoxicating wine. The most important and harmonizing statement of Herodotus as to wine used by the priests, is the following (II. 37). Having said that "they are, of all men, the most excessively attentive to the worship of the gods," in a minute description of their dress, food, etc., he says: "Wine from the grape is given them." This mention confirms the view already taken of the king's wine in Joseph's day; it illustrates the Greek use of *oinos* as including must, or fresh grape-juice; and it aids in harmonizing other statements as to wines in Egypt supposed to be conflicting.

Plutarch (Osiris and Isis,, sect. 6) says: "As to wine, they who wait upon the gods in Heliopolis carry none at all into the temple. . . . . Other priests use indeed a little wine, but they have wineless purifications (aoinous hagneias). . . . . Even the kings themselves, being of the order of

priests, have their wine given to them according to a certain measure prescribed in the sacred books, as Hecatæus states. They began to drink [wine] from the time of Psammiticus; previous to which they drank no wine at all; and if they made use of it in their libations to the gods, it was not because they looked upon it as in its own nature acceptable, but as the blood of those enemies who formerly fought against them. . . . . These things are related by Eudoxus in the second book of the Phainomena, as he had them from the priests themselves." As Hecatæus, from whose history Herodotus quoted, though his work is now lost, lived B. C. 550, and as Eudoxus, whose studies of astronomy in Egypt are also lost, lived B. C. 360, while Psammiticus, the king referred to, reigned from B. C. 664 to 610, Plutarch had certainly reason to rely upon their statements. At any rate, any apparent discrepancy does not at all affect the truth here revealed, or the moral impression it must make on any sincere mind. There certainly was a deep conviction on the minds of Egyptian kings, as well as priests, that intoxicating wines were injurious to the physical and moral nature of men accountable to God as civil and religious leaders; and that intoxicating wines, man's invention and curse, were not accepted by the Divine Being as one of His gifts.

It may be added, in general, that Pliny and many later writers allude to various kinds of Egyptian wines. Athenæus (Deipn. I. 25) mentions especially "sweet, light, and boiled" Egyptian wines; and states, that the Egyptians, like the Greeks, in worshiping the sun, the deification of pure light, "make their libations of honey (grape-syrup), as they never bring wines to the altars of the gods." Philo the Jew and Clement the Christian indicate the religious spirit of the Egyptians, in describing the abstinence of the specially devout of their respective religions. Porphyry, about the same age, quotes from a lost work of Chæremon, librarian at a sacred college in Egypt under the Cæsars, this historic record: "Some do not drink wine at all, and others drink very little of it, on account of its being injurious to the nerves, oppressive to the head, an impediment to invention, and an incentive to lust."

In modern explorations, Champollion notes, as at Beni-Hassan, the ancient representations of the preparations of wines, including "boiled wine;" noting two kinds of presses, especially "that of forcing by mere strength of the arms" the strained juice through a cloth. Sir Gardner Wilkinson, in explaining his own copy of a drawing of this mode of pressing and straining grape-juice by the hand, says: "This Roman

torcular or twist press was used in all parts of the country." These representations, which every traveler in Egypt may observe, indicate that the record of Moses as to the butler's pressing the grape-juice into Pharaoh's cup, was a reality. Its design, to furnish a fresh, unintoxicating beverage, is verified by Egyptian, and still more by contemporary and associated Brahminic records.

In the "Hieratic Papyri," or records of Egyptian priests, found on paper made from the stem of the water-lily (Anasti, No. IV., Let. xi.), is this record of the address of an Egyptian priest to a pupil who had become addicted to the use of the beer of Lower and the wine of Upper Egypt: "Thou knowest that wine is an abomination. Thou hast taken an oath as to strong drink, that thou wouldst not take such into thee. Hast thou forgotten thine oath?" This certainly indicates that aspiring, cultured young men were bound to abstinence from wine in the land where Joseph and Moses learned ancient science.

The laws of the Brahmins of India, embodied in the twelve chapters of the Institutes of Menu, indicate that modern reform is behind the ancients, who, in the earliest ages, had embodied in law the duty of abstaining from intoxicating liquors. The opening chapter declares that "immemorial custom is transcendent law" (I. 108); intimating that the embodied precepts of the

code following are not arbitrary enactments, but the suggestions of human experience, always recognized as binding. The two succeeding chapters treat of the "education," or the youth of the "twice-born," or divinely-endowed caste, the Brahmins, and of "marriage," or their manhood; in which precepts as to abstinence from alcoholic drinks are prominent. Among persons to be shunned in society is "a drinker of intoxicating spirits" (III. 159). Repeated lists of articles of food which may be presented as oblations to the Deity, and which the Brahmin may receive and eat, such as milk, clarified butter and honey, are given; but no "spirituous liquor" is admitted. In the precepts for the "military class," or second caste, among whom kings are ranked, abstemiousness rather than entire abstinence is enjoined. Among the "tenfold set of vices produced by love of pleasure," lechery, "intoxication" and "dancing" are associated; and it is declared that "a king addicted to vices" like these, "must lose both his wealth and his virtue . . . . and even his life" (VII. 46, 47). In the selection of "the four most pernicious of the set," that of "drinking" is placed first (VII. 50). In the two final chapters, containing laws of religion as distinct from morality, and entitled "Penance and Expiation," and "Transmigration and Final Beatitude," the *principles* of these Brahminic laws are

thus developed. "Inebriating liquor" is "of three sorts:" that "extracted from sugar, that from rice, and that from the flowers of Madhuca. As one, so are all; they shall not be tasted by the chief of the twice-born" (XI. 95). The penance required varies according to the knowledge or ignorance of the drinker. "Any twice-born man who has intentionally drunk spirit of rice may drink more of the same spirit when set on fire, and atone for his offense by severely burning his body; or he may drink boiling, until he die, the urine of a cow," etc. (XI. 91). While the penalty of intentional drinking is so fearful as well as disgusting, it is added, "Or, if he tasted it unknowingly, he may expiate the sin of drinking spirituous liquor by"—a long list of humiliating penances lasting "a whole year" (XI. 92). Farther on, wearisome penances are prescribed for a Brahmin who shall "even smell the breath of a man who has been drinking spirits" (XI. 150); or shall "have tasted unknowingly . . . . anything that has touched spirituous liquors" (XI. 151). Proceeding then to the penalties to be followed in the future world, we read (XII. 56): "A priest who has drunk spirituous liquor shall migrate into the form of a smaller or larger worm or insect, of a moth, of a fly feeding on ordure, or of some ravenous animal."

It is impossible that any thoughtful student

of this early code, who recalls that these laws were founded on "customs" that were "immemorial," and who, moreover, remembers that the men who sought to be rulers by mental and moral superiority were a fraternity accomplishing their aim alike in ancient Chaldea, Egypt, and India—it is impossible that any sincere student of this age should regard those like convictions which are assuming shape and authority in modern days as unfounded in nature or the sugtion of mere asceticism. That they reached the common people of India, and that even where this Code of Menu was unknown, is attested by Strabo; who himself wrote about B. C. 10, and quotes from Megasthenes facts witnessed three centuries earlier, thus indicating the existence of a permanent "custom." Strabo says (B. xv. c. i. sect. 53): "All the Indians are frugal. . . . . They never drink wine but at sacrifices. Their beverage is made from rice instead of barley." Hence, both Megasthenes and Strabo note a natural sequence: "They observe good order . . . . they are happy on account of their frugal life;" they have "few lawsuits;" they "confide in one another;" "their houses and property are unguarded." Megasthenes thought all this "worthy of imitation in a people who have no written laws and who are ignorant of writing;" and Strabo adds, as the chief source of their virtue

"These things indicate temperance and sobriety." The allusion to wine at sacrifices deserves special consideration.

WINES AMONG THE HEBREWS AT THE GIVING OF MOSES' LAWS.

The points to be noted in this survey are mainly three; while two previous considerations must be recalled in order to their full understanding. The Hebrew words for wine used by Moses, the existence of an association pledged before his day to total abstinence, and the special laws of health and religion relating to wine framed by him, are successively to be considered; and each of these points of consideration must keep in view the fact that Moses writes himself the history of the Patriarchs as to wines; and that, educated in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, and using numerous words that belonged to the school of the Brahmins, he calls the Hebrew people to note the superiority of his "statutes" to those of the several advanced "nations" of his day (Deut. iv. 6–8).

THE VINE AND ITS PRODUCTS AMONG THE HEBREWS.

In the Hebrew of the Old Testament the words for vine, for grapes, and also twelve terms

expressive of products of the grape, are to be noted. Of these twelve terms, four are familiar in the Patriarchal history; four more are products known in the early Hebrew of Moses' writings; two more are found in Medieval Hebrew, or that of Solomon and the early prophets, and yet two more appear only in the later prophets. All these terms, excepting the last four, must be considered as connected with Moses' writings.

The Hebrew for vine is *gephen.* The vine is found in Egypt in Joseph's day (Gen. xl. 9, 10); but Jacob recalls its greater plentifulness in Palestine, especially at his own and his grandfather's favorite residence nigh Hebron, at the mouth of the Valley of Eshcol, when in his prophecies as to Judah, to whom that section of Palestine was to be an inheritance, he declares: "Binding his foal unto the vine, and his ass-colt unto the choice vine, he shall wash his garments in wine and his clothes in the blood of grapes." That the entrance of the family of Jacob into Egypt brought increased propagation of the grape into Upper Egypt, is indicated by the fact that at Beni-Hassan, on the east bank of the Nile, and at a point most favorable for grape-culture, are found those full representations on tomb-walls of grape-culture which have excited the wonder of all travelers; in which the vines are so abundant that goats and other animals are

free to browse on them; and which are accompanied by the representation of a train entering Egypt, which Wilkinson and others regard the monumental record made by Joseph of the settlement of his father and brethren in the land. The special attraction of the land of Canaan, from first to last, is intimated in the early provision of "wheat, barley, vines," and other fruits (Deut. viii. 8), and in the permanent promise that every man should both "sit under" and "eat of his own vine" (1 Kings iv. 25; 2 Kings xviii. 31).

The Hebrew word for "grape," the product of the vine, is *anab.* Its mention is found as early and as extensively as is that of the vine. It is especially intimated, that while the pure juice of the grape was early employed as a beverage (Gen. xl. 10, 11), its most natural was its simplest use, that of "eating grapes to the fill" (Deut. xxiii. 24).

The first and simplest artificial product is that called the "blood" and "the pure blood of the grapes." As already noticed, the narrative of Moses and the mode of pressing the grapes seen on the oldest monuments of Egypt compels the view that the early Egyptian kings drank the pure expressed juice of the grape (Gen. xl. 11). What Joseph recognized in the butler's vision his aged father certainly prophesied of: that "the

blood of grapes" should be the beverage of Judah (Gen. xlix. 11). Moses, again, evidently referred to his own training, so like to that of the Patriarch Jacob, when he wrote, "Remember the days of old. Ask thy father and he will show thee; thy elders, and they will tell thee . . . . thou didst drink the pure blood of the grape" (Deut. xxxii. 7, 14).

The second product of the grape, and next in purity, is doubtless the *debsh*. When, by English and other translators of the Reformation period, this word was rendered, according to the best lights of their day, "honey," the East was shut up to Christian scholars. It was a striking ordering of Providence that just before the expedition of Napoleon into Egypt, about A.D. 1800, which led on to the opening of the Bible lands to Christian exploration, a leader among German rationalists, replied to by Hengstenberg, maintained that the writer of the Book of Genesis could have known nothing of Egypt, or he would not have suggested that Jacob sent down a present of "honey" to Pharaoh (Gen. xliii. 11). The modern traveler finds everywhere in the ancient land of Jacob's inheritance that the juice of the sweet grape is boiled down to a syrup, still called by the old name *dibs*, whose spicy and nectar-like sweetness makes i one of the most delicious of condiments; while at the very loca-

tion whence Jacob sent it to Pharaoh, at Hebron, it is prepared in great quantities and sent to Egypt as an article of trade.

It is this *syrup* with which it is repeatedly declared by Moses the land of promise "flowed" (Ex. iii. 8), etc.; and though the honey of bees, gathered mainly from the grapes, is, when flowing from the comb, called by the same name, because it is substantially the same article (as Jud. xiv. 8, 1 Sam. xiv. 25–29), yet the *debsh* of Moses is almost always the product of the grape prepared by boiling. In only three cases, out of nearly fifty, does the word refer to the product prepared by bees rather than by man.

The third product of the grape, prepared by man, in the order of simplicity, is probably *tirosh;* which, as the more important word to be examined, is reserved for a separate consideration.

The fourth product in order of preparation seems to be the *chemer*, or effervescing wine, prepared, doubtless, as are modern bottled wines, by checking the fermentation at an early stage. The name is derived from the verb *chamar*, to foam or be agitated; as is seen in Job xvi. 16; Lam. i. 20 and ii. 11; Ps. xlvi. 3.

In Ps. lxxv. 8 this meaning is specially illustrated by the connection "yayin chamar;" in the Greek translation, "oinos akratos;" in the

English, "the wine is red." The added phrase, it is full "of mixture," in the Greek "kerasmatos," indicates the contrast between the fresh, effervescing, light wine *before* admixture, and its inflaming character *after* the admixture; a contrast which, in the Greek, is made clearer by the negative "akratos," and the positive "kerasmatos." The effervescing wines, as we have observed, are obtained by arresting the alcoholic ferment in its earliest stages. Hence the *chemer* was manifestly a light wine. In the earlier Chaldaic or original Hebrew the noun is only twice found; rendered "pure" before the expression "blood of the grapes," in Deut. xxxii. 14, and translated "red" in Isaiah xxvii. 2; though "effervescing" is doubtless the more appropriate designation. It is found again six times in the Chaldaic Hebrew of Ezra, vi. 9, vii. 22, and of Daniel v. 1, 2, 4, 23, indicating that it was common among the Babylonians.

The fifth product of the grape among the Hebrews, was that called by the generic name *yayin;* a word corresponding to the generic word "wine" found in all languages. Its special meaning, like that of "tirosh," requires separate consideration.

The sixth product of the grape appears to be *sobe*, the Roman *sapa*, the French *vin-cuit;* or wine diluted with water and then boiled, thus

driving off in part the alcoholic and concentrat ing the nutritive qualities. The verb *saba*, meaning to *quaff*, or drink luxuriously, is used to in dicate *guzzling* drinkers, who are made heavy and stupid, rather than excited, by its use. All the connections in which the verb is found, as Deut. xxi. 20; Prov. xxiii. 20, 21; Isa. lvi. 12; and Nah. i. 10, as well as the uses of the noun, Isa. i. 22; Hos. iv. 18; and Nah. i. 10, are in harmony with this view of the nature of *sobe*.

The seventh product of the grape in the order of manufacture is *chomets*, or vinegar. This is, of course, the result of the second, or acetous fermentation. It is derived from the verb "chamets," to be sharp. The verb usually, and its first derivative noun, "chamets," always refer to leaven, used for raising bread. Unlike *seor*, meaning also leaven, which is used but five times, and only by Moses, and seems to be a word familiar to the Hebrews in Egypt, *chamets*, which is used by Isaiah (lxiii. 1), Hosea (vii. 4), and Amos (iv. 5), seems to be a word, and an article, belonging to the land of the vine. It is probably a leaven made from sour wine; as distinct from leaven made from other sources. This is indicated by Isaiah lxiii. 1; in which passage it is rendered "dyed," with manifest reference to red grape-juice, turned sour by exposure. This

is made more manifest from the fact that the second derivative, *chomets*, is the only word used to designate vinegar; its mention being found in Num. vi. 3; Ruth ii. 14; Ps. lxix 21; Prov. x. 26, xxv. 20; in all which cases the connection shows that the vinegar is sour wine.

The first of these six products has an interest in connection with the Nazarite's abstinence, and the second with the food of the common people; while the seventh is the beverage refused by Christ on the cross.

The eighth product connected with, if not always derived from the grape, was *shekar*, rendered in the English translation "strong drink," probably including concentrated and drugged liquors. The verb, used in every age of Hebrew literature, from Gen. ix. 21 to Hag. i. 6, means to be inebriated or "drunken;" the "earth," Jer. li. 7, and God's "arrows" (Deut. xxxii. 42) being poetically characterized as stupefied by strong drink. The noun, used nearly twenty-five times, is, in the law and history, contrasted with *yayin*, or wine (Lev. x. 9; Jud. xiii. 4); but in the poetical books, from Solomon to Micah, it is used separately, and seems a synonym for highly-intoxicating stimulants (Prov. xxxi. 6; Isah. v. 22); or more generally for intoxication itself (Prov. xx. 1; Isa. xxviii. 7). The Greek translators seem to have introduced the term

sikera as a transfer, rather than a translation, of *shekar;* since "sikera" is not found in classic Greek, and appears once only in the New Testament (Luke i. 15). Jerome, translating "shekar" into Latin, at points in the law and early history where it is contrasted with wine, paraphrases it thus: "Omne quod inebriare potest," all which can intoxicate (Lev. x. 9; Num. vi. 3; 1 Sam. i. 15); in the later history he transfers, rather than translates, rendering it *sicera* (Deut. xiv. 26; Jud. xiii. 4, etc.); in the poetry he usually employs the abstract "ebrietas," intoxication; while in the second clause of Num. vi. 3, he renders *chomets shekar*, or "vinegar from strong drink," by "acetum ex vino," vinegar from wine. Jerome explains his own translation in one of his letters (ad Nepot. Opp.) thus: "'*Sicera*, in the Hebrew language is any drink which can inebriate (inebriare potest); either that which is prepared from grain or the juice of apples; or when honey-comb (favus) is boiled into a sweet and barbarian drink; or when the fruit of palm-trees is pressed out into a liquor, and when water is made thick and colored with boiled fruits." Herodotus (ii. 77), Diodorous (i. 20, 31), and Pliny (Hist. Nat. xiv. 19) speak of liquors thus made among the ancient Asiatic nations, especially in Palestine. Plutarch (Isid. vi.), Clement of Alexandria

(Strom. iii.), and Jamblicus (vit. Pythag. ep. xvi 24), state that the Egyptian priests, Asiatic magi, and ancient Pythagoreans abstained from all drinks of this class.

TIROSH, OR HEBREW UNFERMENTED WINE.

Modern investigations lead to the conclusion that *tirosh* was *must*, or unfermented wine. This will appear—for the testimonies to this effect are numerous, and their study most instructive—by the tracing of its Hebrew origin, of the cognate Arabic, of the Greek translation made about B.C. 300, of the Talmud comments, of the Latin version of Jerome prepared about A.D. 400, and of several later versions.

The review of these authorities as cited, or overlooked, by modern German lexicographers, is a most striking example of the controlling influence, first, of national customs; second, of philological, as distinct from personal, investigation; and third, of the progress of modern investigations in natural history.

The word *tirosh*, as all agree, is derived from the verb *yarash*. The primary meaning is to "seize," or "dispossess;" whence, as that which is seized is held by the seizer, *yarash* signifies to "possess." Gesenius, with rare power of philological analysis, thinks there is but one root

these two meanings being necessarily associated. Fuerst, with less acumen, yet with a wider range of modern research, thinks that there are two roots, though of precisely the same form. To illustrate the meaning of the first root, which signifies "to drive out," or dispossess, and in the passive, or *niphal*, to "be robbed," and so to "become poor," he notes that it is "identical with (the Hebrew) *râsh* (*rush*), which means, in its fundamental sense, the same as (the Arabic) *rash*, to snatch away." To the English reader the derivation of "ya-rash" from "rash" is illustrated in such words as "be-get" and "be-guile," whose roots are "get" and "guile."

The noun "tirosh," as its form shows, is from the *hiphil* or *causative* conjugation; meaning therefore, an article which causes either possession or dispossession.

Three facts as to the meaning of the verb "yarash" are to be noted:

First.—In every case of its use in the *hiphil* or causative construction—there are nearly seventy instances—it invariably means to "drive" or "cast out," *i. e.*, *to dispossess.*

Second.—In all the records, from Moses' day down, the word "yarash," used about two hundred times, is material, not moral, in its application; referring, generally, to dispossession by the sword (*e. g.* Ex. xxiv. 24).

Third.—In the primitive language of Job (xx. 15) only its action is internal. The manifest meaning of *yarash*, in this only case where it is applied to an operation on the human system, is in perfect harmony with the root-meaning of the word seen in the cognate Arabic. It is an effect produced on the body, not on the mind; and it is the laxative influence ascribed to unfermented wines by the Greek and Roman writers. This early and only usage, therefore, shows that the patriarchs, familiar, from Abraham's experience certainly, with Chaldean and Egyptian discoveries as to wines, had selected intelligently the word *tirosh* to designate unfermented wine.

The idea of "purging" as the effect of *tirosh*, to which its derivation, thus attested by Job xx. 15, shuts up the Hebrew scholar, is confirmed by the meaning of the Arabic *rash*, *rush*, as given by Freytag; namely (1), *multum edit*, he eats much; (2), *debilitavit*, it has debilitated him. Coming to the noun itself, *tirosh*, Gesenius defines it, "*must*, *new wine*." *Fuerst* more fully renders the word, and illustrates its meaning thus: "Properly, what is got (yarash) from grapes, Gen. xxvii. 28, 37, etc.; hence, *unfermented wine*, Mic. vi. 15; different from *yayin*, Hos. iv. 11; *sweet mead*, Zech. ix. 17; and *juice* of the grape, Isa. lxv. 8:" and he adds, "Com-

pare Syriac *meritho*, the same word from the same stem." Gesenius hints that *tirosh* is derived from *yarash*, "because it gets possession of the brain—inebriates;" while Fuerst suggests, as noted above, a very different idea.

As illustrative of the influences which might have led Gesenius to such a conception of "tirosh," the differing statements of Gesenius and Fuerst as to the Hebrew word *chemeh* deserve notice. The noun "chemeh" is found eight times; its root-verb once (Job xxix. 6). In the English translation it is rendered always "butter." Gesenius renders it: "*curdled milk*, Gen. xviii. 8; Judg. v. 25; compare Jos. Ant. v; 5; 4 *gala diephthoros ede*, milk in this state having an inebriating power, Isah. vii. 22; 2 Sam. xvii. 29. Poetical also for *milk*, Job xx. 17; Isa. vii. 15; Deut. xxxii. 14." Here several difficulties arise. Curdled milk is not intoxicating. The word *diephthoros*, used by Josephus, not found in classic Greek, is explained by Josephus himself as *soporific* rather than inebriating, in the added clause: "of which he (Sisera) drank so immoderately that he soon fell asleep." Again, it seems unnatural that "curdled milk," and that "inebriating," should be given by a careful nurse to a child (Isa. vii. 22); yet more, that the "sweet milk" (always indicated elsewhere, in Hebrew and in Arabic, by *chaleb*), of

Isa. vii. 15, is converted into "curdled milk" in Isa. vii. 22. That such a series of false conceptions should enter the mind of so able a scholar as Gesenius, is naturally explained by the utter ignorance of common matters of life, which the bachelor-scholar, Neander, watched over by his devoted sister, displayed in his own affairs. Fuerst, in a happier analysis, finds the *natural* product of "milk-cream" in Gen. xviii. 8, and Isa. vii. 22; "milk with its cream," in Judg. iv. 19 and v. 25; and "butter," the artificial product, in Prov. xxx. 33. The student must have a dull mind who does not see how the ignorance, alike of the customs of other times and of the common matters of his own household, utterly unfitted the able Hebrew scholar to judge of the *effects* alike of the Hebrew *chemeh* and *tirosh*. It is sufficient here to add, that while the Greek interpreters of B. C. 300 used the word *oinos* in a generic sense, including unfermented *tirosh*, as well as fermented *yayin*, in special cases they indicate its distinctive character. They declare the *specific meaning* of the word *tirosh* by rendering it, in Isa. lxv. 8, *rox*, or "burst fruit"; indicating that the grapes have their skins burst by the pressure of the now flowing juice.

It is proper here to insert the testimony of Hebrew lexicographers who preceded the pres-

ent authorities, Gesenius and Fuerst; the former of whom is more reliable in words relating to spiritual truth, while the latter had the advantage of superior resources in studying material things alluded to in the Hebrew history. Here it is important to recall the fact that Hebrew lexicographers derived their knowledge from the multitudinous sources of information above referred to, as they met them in their day. As the lexicographers to be cited were contemporary with the modern translators of the Old Testament, hereafter to be cited, it is important to note that both in the derivation and in the cited significations of "tirosh" as contrasted with "yayin," these lexicographers are in accord with the conscientious translators of their day.

In the Lexicon of Pagninus Lucensis, published at Lyons, France, in 1575, "tirosh" is thus defined: "Vinum novum in botro (new wine in the cluster) Hos. ii. 5; vinum novum (new wine), Deut. vii. 13." To indicate the derivation of "tirosh" its root in 1 Kings xxi. 15, "posside vineam," possess the vineyard, is cited to hint that the meaning of "tirosh" as "new wine," or grape-juice, "in the cluster," is inherent in the verb from which it is derived. In a later edition, published at Lyons, A. D. 1625, Pagninus farther considers the derivation of "tirosh." He says: "Some derive it from expelling (a expel-

lendo), because it comes fresh from the skins (recens a suis pelleculis), as if it were pushed out of its house and expelled."

In the Lexicon Heptaglottorum of Edmund Castell, of which there were several editions published between 1669 and 1790, whose testimonies belong of course to the early scholarship of the Reformation, the testimony as to the derivation and meaning of "tirosh" is to the same effect, yet fuller. In his study, Castell included an examination of the Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, Samaritan, Ethiopic, and Arabic versions and interpretations. In his edition published at London in 1686, considering "tirosh" under its root "yarash," Castell gives this derivation: "*yarash* from *rush*." He adds: "Hiphil, hórish, possidendum dedit (he gives to be possessed), heredem instituit (he establishes as heir), 2d Chron. xx. 11; Num. xiv. 24." He adds: "But oftener he expels from possession—he exterminates; he makes poor; for here (*i.e.* in the Hiphil) it is almost always (fere) taken in a bad sense." In the issue edited by J. D. Michaelis in 1790, this definition of "tirosh" is given: "Mustum, liquor uvarum primum expressus, Num. viii. 12; grape-juice, the liquor of grapes first pressed out." Here is a recognition of the custom alluded to by Moses as existing in Egypt in Joseph's day, hinted in Isa. lxv. 8 where *rox* indicates that

the grapes have their skins burst by the pressure of the now flowing juice, and fully described by Roman writers from Cato to Pliny, or from B. C. 200 to A. D. 100. The custom of gently pressing out first the sugary "liquor" of the grape, which had in it no fermenting ingredient and would not intoxicate, is clearly seen to have been known to this lexicographer of the seventeenth century.

Again, in the Lexicon of Leopold, published at Leipsic in 1832, "yayin" is derived, as by Gesenius, from "yavan," to ferment; its very derivation showing its generic character. On the other hand, "tirosh," derived from "yarash," is associated with the shortened root-word "reshet," a net, to indicate a common derivation; while the meaning of *tirosh* is given as "mustum," grape-juice. The thorough scholar, who knows how to appreciate the testimonies of such men at such ages as those in which they lived, will not only appreciate modern Hebrew lexicographers, but will go back to their authorities.

The comparison between *yayin* and *tirosh* in Hos. iv. 11, requires special notice in the Greek translation made by Hebrews. The Greek translators render "tirosh" by *methusma;* a word demanding careful examination. As lexicographers agree, the root-noun, *methe* or *methu*, indicates excessive drinking, without regard to the

liquor used, and is the counterpart of gormandizing in eating. The Jewish commentators, Philo and Maimonides, hereafter directly quoted, representing two important eras in later Jewish history, regard the "tirosh" of Hosea iv. 11 as equivalent to the "debsh" of Solomon in Prov. xxv. 27; and they supposed that Hosea sums up in a single expression the warnings of Solomon against the three sensual indulgences—licentiousness, intoxication, and gluttony.

This root-meaning is confirmed by the cognate root-words in Sanscrit and old German. It is illustrated by the English word "drunk," from "drink;" which has only as a secondary meaning "to be intoxicated;" and which does not in *itself*, but in its connection in the writer's mind, have this latter idea connected with it. The noun "methusma," used by the Hebrew-Greek translators in Hos. iv. 11, is not found in classic Greek; but it follows the analogy of its root in the later Alexandrine, Byzantine, and modern Greek, as the best lexicons indicate. The verb "methusko," frequent in classic Greek, is often used in the generic signification of its root. Thus Xenophon, (Cyrop. I. 3) uses the expression "pinon ou methusketai," drinking, he is not filled with drink. Plato (Sympos.) employs the phrase "emethusthen nektaros," he was filled with

nectar; a product of the grape which could not intoxicate.

An important confirming as well as illustrative testimony as to the nature of *tirosh* is moreover found in the Latin translation of Jerome made about B. C. 400, during his residence of thirty years in Palestine; where this thorough student sought special preparation for that work which gave all Western Europe their chief guide to the meaning of the Scripture records from the fifth to the fifteenth centuries. While Jerome uses frequently the generic word *vinum*, corresponding to the generic terms *oinos* in Greek, *vin* in French, and *wine* in English, he uses for "tirosh" in Deut. vii. 13; Neh. x. 37; Isa. xxiv. 7, where the fresh product required it, *vindemia*, grape-harvest or vintage; in Isa. lxv. 8 the yet more special term *granum*, or berry; and in Mic. vi. 15 he uses the term *mustum*, or unfermented wine. If any mind could settle both the meaning of the Hebrew *tirosh* and of *methusma* in the Greek translation, it was Jerome.

"YAYIN" THE GENERIC HEBREW TERM FOR WINES, AND MOSES' LAW OF ABSTINENCE.

The fact that *yayin* is a generic word, including many varieties of wines, is manifest from these considerations. It is used in more cases

than all the other special terms combined, occurring more than one hundred and forty times; it is found in the earliest and latest history (Gen. ix. 21 to Neh. xiii. 15); and it appears in the laws, the precepts, and the prophetic writings covering the three ages of Hebrew literature. In the early translations it is treated as a generic term; being rendered by the Greek *oinos* and Latin *vinum*, which, like the modern French *vin*, the German *wein*, and the English *wine*, cover every variety of drink prepared from the grape. The vital practical questions connected with the present discussion are these: First, as a generic word, does *yayin* include unfermented and unintoxicating beverages made from the juice of the grape? Second, in the offerings made to God, were intoxicating wines prescribed? Third, was intoxicating wine used at the feasts of the Jews, especially at the Passover? Fourth, was the abstinence of the Nazarites a temporary or a permanent provision? Fifth, how far was abstinence from intoxicating drinks taught by Moses to be a virtue required in all men?

That the generic term included all classes of wines, fermented and unfermented, is indicated by the following considerations. Its association, like *tirosh*, with corn, oil, and other natural products, implies that the natural as well as the artificial juice of the grape is referred to by

"yayin" (see 1st Chron. ix. 29; 2d Chron. ii. 15; Neh. v. 15; xiii. 15; and Hag. ii. 12). Again, the allusion to the gathering of "wine" (Isa. xvi. 10) forbids any other interpretation of the word *yayin* than this; that it includes the fresh grape-juice. Yet, again, the "wine" associated with bread brought out by Melchisedek (Gen. xiv. 18) and the wine associated with milk in the figure of the Gospel provisions (Isa. lv. 1) naturally imply the fresh product; the wine in which Judah was to wash his garment (Gen. xlix. 11) certainly refers to the juice of the grape in the process of pressing; while the wine from which Daniel abstained while fasting is certainly not the intoxicating beverage of which, from boyhood, he refused to partake (comp. Dan. i 5, 8, 16, with x. 3). There is reason, however to conclude that the Hebrew word *yayin* was not as comprehensive in meaning as the Greek *oinos*, the Latin *vinum*, and the French *vin;* since in these languages an adjective qualifying the generic root is used, while in the Hebrew several distinct roots, as we have seen, are employed.

Offerings of wine are required (Ex. xxix. 40; Lev. xxiii. 13; Num. xv. 5–10; xxviii. 14). These offerings, however, are in the two latter legislative acts restricted to the period after which they should have "come into the land given to them;" and could there gather "harvests.'

The only historical reference to these offerings (Hos. ix. 1–4) plainly implies, that, as it was the new corn fresh from the "corn-floor" which was at the time of its gathering to be made the annual offering, so it was the "new wine" fresh from the "wine-press," which then, as now, in the same land, was to be gathered by the tithing-man.

As to wine drunk at feasts, especially at the Passover, of special importance since it was associated with Christ's use of the cup at the united Passover and Lord's Supper, the following facts must be weighed: *First*, no mention is made of "wine," or of any drink, in the many written statutes and recorded observances relating to the Passover in the Old Testament history. *Second*, there is but one allusion to the wine used at the feast of the Tabernacles (Neh. viii. 10). This drink is called in Hebrew "mamthaqim;" rendered in Greek "glukasma," in Latin, "mulsum," in English, "sweet;" and it is manifestly the fresh juice of the grape, since the feast occurred at the season of grape-harvest. *Third*, the uniform statement of later Hebrew commentators, with the exceptions to be noted, accord with the fact, that the wine used at the Passover, whenever the custom of the cup at this feast was introduced, was controlled by the provision that nothing fermented should be used at that feast.

The abstinence of the Nazarites, for whom statutes are made by Moses (Num. vi. 1–21), was, without question, an extreme pledge; since it includes every product of the vine, even moist grapes and dried raisins (vi. 4, 5). It was also, with some, at least, a temporary pledge when taken in this extreme form (vi. 21). With others, however, it was a permanent, life-long pledge. That life-long pledge was deemed essential in mothers, like the wife of Manoah, whose offspring, like Samson, were to be marked by eminent physical vigor (Jud. xiii. 4, 7), and, like Samuel, by moral integrity (1 Sam. i. 15); and it was equally essential to men who, in each succeeding dark era of their nation's history, were to be, like Jeremiah and Daniel, the hope of its restored prosperity (Judg. xvi. 17; Amos. ii 11; Jerem. xxxv. 6; Lam. iv. 7; Dan. i. 5–16).

As to the general duty of abstinence from intoxicating beverages taught by Moses, these facts are to be noted. Moses himself, trained, as his history shows (Acts vii. 22), among the learned class of Egypt, was accustomed to the laws of abstinence above cited from Egyptian history. Moreover, he found existing among his countrymen a band of "consecrated" young men, with whom the *extreme* of abstinence was made to confirm the law; the word "nazar," to consecrate, giving origin to the title "Nazarites," or "sepa

ratists," as is indicated in their laws (Num. vi. 2, 3, 5, 6, 12). Farther, this "separation," or consecration, was required of the Levites devoted to the ministry (Lev. xxii. 2); abstinence from wine and intoxicating liquor being specially enjoined on those engaged in ministerial duties (Lev. x. 9). Yet more, this became a permanent obligation, suggested by moral conviction, in all subsequent Hebrew history (Prov. xxiii. 31; xxxi. 4; Hos. ix. 10–12; Ezek. xliv. 21; Zech. vii. 3; Dan. i. 5). No one can impartially trace this record, and not recognize that in the entire history of the Hebrew nation, beginning with the founder and legislator of the State, the whole weight of law, morality, and religion is against the use of intoxicating drinks.

WINES IN DESPOTIC AGES OF LUXURY IN WESTERN ASIA.

A new era opened on Western Asia when, after the culmination of ancient civilization, despotism brought in luxury and degeneracy. During four centuries, from about B.C. 1,000 to B.C. 600, oppressive and luxurious monarchs reigned from the Nile to the Indus, alike in Egypt, Palestine, Assyria, Media and Persia. In Egypt the early influence of moral and religious conviction, leading to abstinence from intoxicating wine and the use of only the expressed juice of

the grape, or unintoxicating wines, passed away Plutarch intimates that a new era opened with Psammiticus, whose reign began about B.C. 664; his remark being that "the kings," not the priests, "began to drink wine from the time of Psammiticus." Prior to that era, as the tombs of Thebes reveal, luxury had been growing; women even at table being seen vomiting from excessive eating and drinking. This drinking, however, must have been of the sweet unfermented juice of the grape; since the persons vomiting are always sitting upright, supporting themselves, and showing no signs of being overcome by intoxicating liquors. From the days of Psammiticus, however, we may well believe that kings defied the laws of their early training; since this same result appears among the kings of Israel and the nations in the valleys of the Euphrates and Tigris. The testimony of Athenæus (Deipn.) confirms both this increase of luxury, and also the stern effort of Egyptian wise men to counteract it. The varied kinds of Egyptian wines enumerated by Pliny and others, show that the pampering of the palate had assumed a new and controlling influence; while the special mention of light wines is proof of the effort to resist the tendency to use intoxicating wines. Thus of one kind Athenæus says, that it is "not exciting to the head;" and of another kind, that it is so

mild and nutritive, that it is not injurious to those "afflicted with fever."

In Israel, too, a new era arose. Contrary to the remonstrances of both Moses and Samuel, kings were chosen; who, among other evils, as had been foretold, introduced sensuality, luxury, and the resort to intoxicating beverages (Deut. xvii. 14, 17; 1 Sam. viii. 5, 13, 14). To this age, from David to Josiah, belong the writings of David, of Solomon, and of the prophets of Israel's degeneracy before the captivity in Babylon; which are most instructive as to the moral and religious law of wines.

The kinds of wine mentioned during this period are specially significant. The simple *tirosh*, or unintoxicating juice of the grape, is only twice mentioned: David referring (Psal. iv. 7) to the products "corn and tirosh," and Solomon (Prov. iii. 10) comparing to "tirosh" the simple and sweet fruits of virtue and piety. On the other hand, two contrasts appear. First, the artificial product *shekar*, strong drink, is frequently met, and the effects of *yayin*, fermented wine, are constantly pictured and condemned. Second, as if it were a new effort to resist the downward tendency, two new preparations of grape-juice are introduced. The first of these, *âsîs*, is evidently a carefully-prepared must, or unfermented wine; and the second, *eshîshah*, is

the juice of the grape boiled down to a solid cake. Each of these deserves notice.

The verb *shâkar*, to drink to intoxication, and the noun *shekar*, strong drink, are met in the writings of David and of Solomon the kings, and of Isaiah, Micah, and Nahum, the prophets. In the Psalm prophesying the insults heaped upon the Messiah on the cross, David foretells that He would have occasion to exclaim (Psalm lxix. 12), "I was the song of the drunkards." In his song, Solomon represents his beloved as picturing the intoxication of impure sensual affection seen in her rivals and abusers (i. 6; v. 7); and she contrasts this false with true spiritual love by a comparison of simple country diet with court luxuries. Her language is, as Fuerst's definitions indicate: "I have eaten my sweet-shrubs with grape-syrup (*debsh*); I have drunk my wine (*yayin*) with milk;" then, in irony adding: "Eat, companions, swallow down; drink to intoxication, cousins." In his Proverbs Solomon declares (xx. 1), "Strong drink is raging," and he makes Lemuel's mother say (xxxi. 4, 6), "It is not for princes to drink strong drink . . . . give strong drink to him that is ready to perish." Isaiah, the evangelic prophet, utters woes on them that "follow," and on them that "mingle strong drink" (v. 11, 22); he declares it "bitter" (xxiv. 9); he pictures those "out of the way" and

"staggering from strong drink" (xxviii. 7; xxix. 9); he threatens men who "shall be filled with strong drink as with their own blood" (xlix. 26); who shall be "afflicted through intoxication" (li. 21); who invite others, saying "we will fill ourselves with strong drink" (lvi. 12); and who, rejecting the Redeemer, coming in "garments dyed" with his own blood, will hear the curse: "I will make them drunk in my fury." Finally, Micah (ii. 11), the echo of Isaiah, pictures the prophet of falsehood and "lies" as prophesying under the influence "of wine and strong drink."

The destroying effects of *yayin*, wine, in this age, are also vividly portrayed. David, as a shepherd-boy, is sent by his father with the shepherd's fare of bread, parched corn and cheese (1 Sam. xvii. 17, 18), to the army; but in his later experience he meets Abigail, who brings to him "two bottles of wine," and has a husband who drinks wine to beastly intoxication (1 Sam. xxv. 18, 37); while in his later life Ziba in false friendship brings to David bread, raisins, summer fruit and "a bottle of wine that such as be faint in the wilderness might drink" (2 Sam. xvi. 1, 2). Often in David's reign wine is mentioned with corn as a product of the field (1 Chron. ix. 29; xii. 40); but David's own three allusions to it are pictures such as many a father in our modern society learns to appreciate. Absalom

brought up at the court of the king of Syria, his mother's father, makes a feast of "wine" for David's sons; and when Amnon is "merry with wine" he is murdered, while Absalom becomes a traitor (2 Sam. xiii. 27, 28; comp. iii. 3, and xiii. 37). No wonder that David's only allusions to *yayin*, wine, take this cast: "Thou hast made us to drink the wine of astonishment" (Ps. lx. 3); "In the hand of the Lord is a cup, and the wine is red" (lxxv. 8); "The Lord awaked . . . . as a mighty man that shouteth by reason of wine" (lxxviii. 65).

Solomon, however, writing from a yet deeper experience, brings out the real curse of the times; for wine must have been doing a fatal work, or such pictures could not have been drawn, and such warnings would not have been needed. In the poem of his guileless youth there are six allusions to wine; three declaring that "love" is better than "wine"; and the other three referring to light beverages, wine with "milk," the "best," and the "spiced" wine (Song i. 2, 4; iv. 10; v. 1; vii. 9; viii. 2). In the poem of his manhood, his counsels for youth are full of warnings, not against excessive drinking, but against any use of wine. He designates it as "the wine of violence" (Prov. iv. 17), and a "mocker" (xx. 1). He not only warns youth against becoming "wine-bibbers" and "tarrying long at the wine,'

but also exhorts, "*Look* not on the wine when it is red, when it giveth its color in the cup, when it moveth itself aright: at the last it biteth like a serpent and stingeth like an adder" (xxiii. 20-31). He closes his poem with the counsel of King Lemuel's mother, "It is not for kings, O Lemuel, it is not for kings to drink wine." In this, as in all ages, experience taught that total abstinence is absolutely indispensable to any one who aspires to eminent success in life, or who attains to moral fidelity in a high trust.

The equally important, and only other allusion to wine in this poem, calls attention to the "mingled wine" which "wisdom" commends (ix. 2, 5). This recalls a resort most interesting in Grecian and Roman history and in the modern practices of the Hebrews and of the Greek Church. Through the influence, without question, of German associations, the Hebrew *mesak*, to mix, is regarded by Gesenius and Fuerst as referring to the intermixing in wines of spices and other inflaming ingredients. Gesenius thinks the Hebrew *mesak* cognate with the Sanscrit *mis*, the Greek *misgo* (or *mignumi*), and the Latin *misco;* while Fuerst doubts this relation, "since the sibilant here is not original." Both overlook the fact that the Greek translators used the root *kerao* in rendering *mesak;* a word used from Homer's day as distinct from *mignumi*, to indi-

cate a *weakening* of wines by admixture with water (see Liddell & Scott). Jerome in the Latin uses *misceo;* and this term, as Leverett shows from Cicero, in allusions to mixed wine, indicates a dilution with water. The teaching of Solomon in this proverb, therefore, is the doctrine of the Roman moralists and of the modern Greek Church; that when wine is to be used medicinally and in sacramental service it should be diluted.

In the poem of his old age, designed for those determined to try for themselves rather than accept the experience of others, Solomon first cites his own youthful determination to test the pleasures of wine-drinking (Eccles. ii. 3). To youth deciding thus to act he says, "Go *thy way* . . . . drink thy wine with a merry heart;" but he adds the caution (x. 19), "A feast is made for laughter and wine makes merry;" and he closes by forewarning the drinker of the certain penalty: "Know thou that for all these things God will bring thee into judgment" (xi. 9).

Isaiah, the prophet, who looked for a purer day, like Solomon, is full of warning as to the temptations of wine. He pictures wine-drinking, which inflames men at feasts, as the evil of his age (v. 11, 12, 22); he cites as the source of this corruption the adoption of the Epicurean maxim, "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we

die" (xxii. 13); and he describes how the reveler's "song" and his "crying for wine" lead to error, misery, and quenchless thirst (xxiv. 9, 11; xxviii. 1, 7). Going further, he pictures the reeling of the emaciated toper when through poverty he can no more gain his beverage (xxix. 9; li. 21); and he closes with the scene of confirmed sots determining to sit night and day drugged with wine (lvi. 12). Finally, in contrast with this abuse of God's gift in the product of the vine, Isaiah pictures the Gospel provision of "wine and milk;" to whose unintoxicating and healthy use the Redeemer of man invites (lv. 1).

Hosea, like Solomon, unites "wine" and "whoredom," as necessarily associated (iv. 11); and he pictures the kings of his day as made "sick with bottles of wine" (vii. 5). Finally, and specially noteworthy, he declares the offering of wine to Jehovah as "displeasing" to Him (ix. 4); a declaration which illustrates and confirms the view of Moses' law, above stated, as excluding alcoholic wines.

Joel calls attention to the "howling" of wine-drinkers in their suffering after debauch; and he pictures the fiendish as well as beastly sensuality of wine-sellers who will buy the daughters of their victims as prostitutes "for wine" (i. 5; iii. 3).

Amos again pictures the wine-drinker as forgetting the claims of humanity in his thirst (ii.

8); as tempting the Nazarites to be faithless to their vow of abstinence (ii. 12); and as beastly as swine in drinking from "bowls." Most of all, he dwells on the promise of the purer day; and as Isaiah, recalls the simple return to the use of the natural vintage (ix. 14). Micah denounces the people for accepting as authority lying prophets, prophesying under the influence of wine; and warns the people of the desolating war which their corruption will bring, when they can secure only the *tirosh*, or fresh grape-juice, while invading foes will come in before their wine is matured (ii. 11; vi. 15). Finally, Habakkuk, the sublimest of prophets, gives a fitting close to the uniform voice of Old Testament writers during this age; pointing to the general fact that crime is committed under the influence of intoxicating drink; warning the man who "transgresseth by wine;" and declaring, "Woe to him that giveth his neighbor drink; that puttest thy bottle to him" (ii. 5, 15).

In the prevalence of the use of strong drink and of wine, against which all the inspired Hebrew writers of this age unanimously remonstrate, as above noted, two new preparations of the juice of the grape, in addition to the must and the diluted wine before employed, are in this age introduced, to utilize the product of the vine

and to forestall the temptation to make intoxicating wine.

The first of these, *'asîs*, a word derived from *asas*, to tread out, is the fresh juice, used as in Joseph's day. It occurs but five times, and only in this age; in Solomon's Song (viii. 2) where it is the juice of the pomegranate instead of the grape; in Isa. xlix. 26, in Joel i. 5 and iii. 18 and in Amos ix. 13, where it is translated "new," or "sweet-wine." It is rendered by the Greek translators "wine, new wine, and sweetening" (glukasmon); and by Jerome, in the Latin "must," or "sweetness" (*dulcedo*). The second new preparation of the grape, *eshishah*, translated "flagons," as if it were the *receiver*, and not the article received, is by all authorities recognized as grape-juice boiled down to a thick jelly or cake. It is mentioned only four times: first, as a part of David's feast to the people at large on the bringing of the ark to Jerusalem (2 Sam. vi. 19 and 1 Chr. xvi. 3); second, in Solomon's Song (ii. 5); and third, in Hosea (iii. 1), where the record is not simply "jelly," as in other cases, but "jelly of grapes." No thoughtful mind can fail to observe, as we shall remark in the later Roman history, the effort of discerning men to forestall, if they could not eradicate, the vice of habitual drinking of intoxicating wines.

Passing eastward now to the broad valleys of

the Euphrates and Tigris, we find among the nations rapidly succeeding each other in Assyria, Media, and Persia, a yet more marked passage from the use of the simple products of the grape in the vigorous infancy of nations, to the luxury which always is induced by wealth and ease. Plato marks the parallel between the early Assyrian and Grecian advancement; and Plutarch extends this to Rome. The near approximation of the three eras from which authentic history began its reckoning—the Grecian era of B.C. 776, the Roman of B.C. 753, and the Babylonian of B.C. 747—marks a culminating point in the progress of these associated nations; while it is also a central point in the history of degeneracy promoted by intoxicating wines.

The last of the Assyrian kings who ruled at Nineveh was Sardanapalus, who came to the throne about B.C. 771. Prior to that era, the Assyrians had been distinguished as leaders in science and art; their rulers were taught the highest principles of justice, integrity, and self-restraint; and their teachers were allied to the Brahmins of India in their abstinence from wine (Herod. B. I.; Plato Apol. c. 35; Strabo B. XVI.; Plut. Alcib. c. 1). In the latter portion of this period, on the visit of the Hebrew prophet, Jonah, about B.C. 862, the religious spirit of the people is illustrated; the more conspicuous be-

cause the prophet seemed to anticipate its influence (Jonah iii. 5–9; iv. 2). Sardanapalus, however, reaching the culmination of degradation, gave himself up to effeminacy and intoxication; his example being so marked that Plato, Aristotle, and Plutarch comment upon it. His maxim was, "*Esthie, pine, aphrodiaze, t'alla de ouden*" (Plut. de Alexand. B. II.), "Eat, drink, and gratify lust; all things else are of no account." To the same purport he composed two lines for his own tombstone, beginning, "*Kein' echo oss' ephagon*," etc.; "I still *have* what I ate;" on which Cicero (Tusc. Quæs. B. V. n. 101), remarks, "What else, said Aristotle, would you inscribe on the tomb of an ox, not of a king!" Even the convivial Athenæus has a moral on debauchery like this (Deipn. B. XII). It might be supposed that the nation succeeding to this king, that of Nabonassar, beginning with the era B.C. 747, and having Babylon as its capital, would beware of this fatal vice; but the last of this second line, Belshazzar whose fate the Hebrew Daniel records, fell because he "drank wine" in the "sacred cups" (Dan. vi. 3, 4, 23).

The Medes, succeeding to the Assyrian or Babylonian kingdom, began as a people strictly abstinent from intoxicating wine. Their degeneracy through luxury is portrayed by Xeno-

phon in his "Training of Cyrus," in a picture which will ever be quoted as a gem of graphic sketching. Young Cyrus, coming from his Persian home to visit his grandfather, Astyages, king of Medea, came to have a mortal aversion to the king's cup-bearer, because of his office. The king remarking upon it, Cyrus proposed to act the cup-bearer; and with a napkin on his shoulder presented the cup to the king with a studied grace that charmed the fond old man. When, however, the king observed that young Cyrus did not, before presenting the cup, first pour some of it into his left-hand and taste it—a custom rendered necessary as a safeguard against attempts at assassination by poison put into the king's wine-cup — Astyages said, "You have omitted one essential ceremony; that of tasting." "No," replied Cyrus, "it was not from forgetting it that I omitted that ceremony." "For what, then," asked Astyages, "did you omit it?" "Because," said Cyrus, "I thought there was poison in the cup." "Poison, child!" cried the king; "how could you think so?" "Yes, poison, grandfather; for not long ago at a banquet which you gave to your courtiers, after the guests had drunk a little of that liquor, I noticed that all their heads were turned; they sang, shouted, and talked they did not know what. Even you yourself seemed to forget that you

were king and they your subjects; and when you would have danced, you could not stand on your legs." "Why," asked Astyages, "have you never seen the same happen to your father?" "No, never," said Cyrus (Cyrop. B. I).

Who could have supposed that this same Cyrus would himself be led to what was and still is called temperate use of wine, and have led the Persian nation into a habit from which to this day they have not even as Muhammedans been redeemed! It is worthy of special note that the very point of the English controversy between Dr. F. R. Lees and Rev. A. M. Wilson turns on the *early abstinence* of Cyrus and his subsequent yielding to the seduction inseparable from high position, ease and luxury. The same Xenophon records that Cyrus in his manhood said on a long march to his officers: "Collect wine enough to accustom us to drink only water; for most of the way is destitute of wine. That we do not, therefore, fall into diseases by being left suddenly without wine, let us begin at once to drink water with our food; after each meal drink a little wine; diminish the quantity we drink after eating until we insensibly become water-drinkers: for an alteration little by little brings any one to bear a total change" (Cyrop. vi. 2). Xenophon, himself, a little later in life, encourages his troops by saying, that their sobriety

made them an overmatch for their wine-drinking foes (Cyrop. vii. 5). The lesson is manifest. Herodotus farther states that Cyrus by strategy overcame the fierce Massagetae; enticing the young prince and his officers, at a banquet given them, to drink deeply, while he and his generals only pretended to drink; and then attacking their army while their officers were intoxicated. This unworthy act led the queen-mother to remonstrate with Cyrus to this effect: "When you yourself are overcome with wine, what follies do you not commit! By penetrating your bodies it makes your language more insulting. By this poison you have conquered my son; and not by your skill or your bravery."

The culmination of this same vice in these three successive empires, that of the Persian reaching its climax in Xerxes the Great, demonstrated the need of reform; and doubtless stimulated the zeal of reformers in Central Asia, as it had the Hebrew prophets in Western Asia. Indeed, in the midst of this era, about B.C. 713, Nahum wrote "the burden of Nineveh;" and gave this historic fact in the form of a prophetic warning: "While they are drugged with boiled wine (*sobeh*) they shall be devoured as stubble fully dry" (Nahum i. 10).

THE AGE OF ASIATIC REFORM IN WINE-DRINKING.

Du Perron, the French explorer, who devoted his life to seeking throughout India for the writings of Zoroaster, called attention a century ago to the fact that the age of Zoroaster, or Zerdusht, in Persia, was the age of Confucius, or Confutsee, in China, of Daniel at Babylon, and of Phericydes, the Greek instructor of Pythagoras. This historic coincidence is certainly indicative of a wide-spread and deeply-felt Asiatic need; suggesting to many the personal association or correspondence of these great reformers; suggestive certainly of a principle all the deeper in human nature, if there were no association between them.

Zoroaster, of Brahminic origin, after a vain effort to resist the degeneracy of his own caste, left his home, went north to Persia, and there exerted an influence which the Persians have felt to this day. He sought especially to bring that people back to the abstemious life of their own ancestry and of his caste. A leading maxim with him was, "Temperance is the strength of the mind; man is dead in the intoxication of wine."

Phericydes, the teacher of Pythagoras, educated at this era, in the East and in Egypt, sought to secure in Greece a reform in habits of luxury

His effort became effective in his pupil; who in the same school learned the law of abstinence and transferred it to Italy, where he established his school. Numa, the moral legislator, whose influence ruled the early Romans, and was revived and perpetuated in the Republic, was, as Plutarch says, called a Pythagorean, though his age preceded that of Pythagoras at least a century. Of this age, Pliny (Nat. Hist., B. XIV. c. 13-21) speaks in strong commendation. He quotes Numa's law, that "wine should not be used in libations to the one spiritual god, nor in sprinkling, as a religious act, the graves of ancestry." He states as a reason for this provision, "since it (abstinence from wine) is in keeping with (constat) a religious life, to offer wine to gods was held impious." Hence he adds: "The Romans for a long time used wine sparingly;" and "It was forbidden to woman." Again he adds: "The wines of the early ages were employed as medicine;" and again, "wine began to be authorized in the six-hundredth year of the city (about B. C. 153)." To this have been opposed Plutarch's two statements in the life of Numa. "His sacrifices, also, were like the Pythagorean. . . . . consisting chiefly of flour, libations of wine and other very simple and inexpensive things;" and the corresponding mention, "some of Numa's precepts have a concealed meaning; as, not to

offer the gods wine proceeding from a vine unpruned; nor to sacrifice without meal." Statements in immediate connection indicate a harmony between Plutarch and Pliny, and confirm the wondrous effort of reform attempted by Numa. The Romans proper were like the Brahmins in India, a small but ruling caste. The Romans at Numa's day, like the Brahmins, had no other deity than the one spiritual god; and Numa's law forbade, as a matter of *religious consistency*, the use of wine as a beverage or as a libation. For the idolatrous and somewhat independent tribes held in subjection by the Romans, who worshiped other deities, his law required "simple" offerings; especially the simplest product of the vineyard and of the wheat-field.

In the midst of these efforts at moral reform, extending from China in Eastern Asia to Rome in Southern Europe, the Hebrew people, forced into Babylonia as exiles, exerted, at least through their prophets, a new and wide-spread influence. During this age three out of four of the prophets styled "greater," and six out of twelve of the "minor" prophets wrote; while, moreover, the histories and chronicles of the nation, extending from Saul, the first king, to Nehemiah, a governor living a century after their return from captivity were all written. During this age the intoxicating wine, *yayin*, is always mentioned with con-

demnation; the unfermented *tirosh* is frequently mentioned, and with commendation; while two other products of the vine, as before mentioned, are brought to notice.

The condemnation of wine by the leading prophets is universal. Jeremiah pictures "the man whom wine hath overcome" (xxiii. 9), and "nations drunk with wine" (li. 7). Ezekiel reproduces the law "neither shall any priest drink wine" (xliv. 21). Zechariah declares that the Israelites in their moral abandonment at Christ's coming would be like men "drinking" to drown sensibility, who "make a noise through wine" (ix. 15). In the histories then written, Jeremiah, the compiler of the books called Samuel and the Kings, rehearses the record as to David, his sons, and the future monarchs already quoted; and Daniel pictures the abandonment of the Assyrian kings through wine. Nehemiah, cupbearer at the Persian court, a century after the day of Cyrus, speaks without comment of the wine of the Persian court; he alludes to the "wines of all sorts," especially mentioning the sweet juice of the grape as among the free-will offerings sent to him; but he declares his refusal to receive this perquisite of "wine" as governor (ii. 1; v. 15, 18; viii. 10; xiii. 15). The writer of the Book of Esther, alluding apparently to the voluptuous Xerxes, pictures the sensuality and

passion displayed at the Persian "feasts of wine;" citing the "law," which made it no discourtesy for any one to decline the wine-cup; a law whose very existence reveals the rule of conscience prompting abstinence among Persian princes (i. 7, 8, 10; vii. 7). This higher law of abstinence, ruling among the young men who were the hope of Israel in this dark day, is set forth in colors of radiant light by both Jeremiah and Daniel. Jeremiah, as the highest type of virtue yet lingering in Israel, calls out the Rechabites, and in the most public manner tests their constancy by offering them wine (xxxv. 2–14); and he records as a marked fact in his future "lament" over the fall of Jerusalem, that during its calamities, "her Nazarites were purer than snow, they were whiter than milk" (iv. 7). Daniel, during the same age, in the distant land of captivity, and a descendant of kings that had been unfaithful, is a resolute leader of a little band who courteously yet firmly refused to drink the wine of the Babylonian king (i. 5–16). The allusion in Psalm civ., written in this age, a statement often perverted because the contrast is overlooked, is, from the fact that it is purely incidental, an index to the impression of men of this age as to the pernicious influence of wine-drinking. The Psalmist representing the Creator as giving fertility to the soil so that man can "bring forth food" out of it

and citing "wine, oil, and bread," as the three chief products, makes this contrast between the first and last (civ. 15): "Wine to *make glad* the heart of man . . . . and bread to *strengthen* his heart." The word *samah*, rendered "merry" usually, is sometimes, especially in Solomon's writings, used in an ambiguous or double sense, as Prov. xv. 13; xvii. 5, 22; but in the writers of the later age it is used chiefly in a bad sense, as Esther v. 9, 14. The gift of wine in this representation of the Psalmist of the captivity is to be explained by the convictions of the men of that age, such as Daniel and Jeremiah. In their view, wine, as the Psalmist states, produces *unhealthful* exhilaration, while bread gives *healthful* "strength," the Psalmist's statement being in harmony with essential truth, as well as with the conviction of his age.

Meanwhile, in this age, *tirosh*, unfermented wine, and *mesak*, diluted wine, again appear as antidotes against the use of intoxicating wines. Zechariah puts the healthful *tirosh*, "new wine," which maidens at the Messiah's coming will partake, into direct contrast with the *yayin*, or intoxicating "wine," which "noisy" brawlers will drink (ix. 15, 17). Haggai mentions it among the simple natural products of the land of Israel in the latter day (i. 11). Jeremiah, as the compiler of the Kings, and Ezra of the Chronicles

mention *tirosh* as an article to which there is a return after reformation under Hezekiah and Josiah (2 Kings xviii. 32; 2 Chron. xxxi. 5; xxxii. 28); and Nehemiah cites it in almost every allusion to the products of the field, as if the return from their captivity brought a return among the Israelites to the use of simple unfermented wine (Nehemiah v. 11; x. 37, 39; xiii. 5, 12).

THE LAWS OF WINE OBSERVED BY THE GREEKS.

Aristotle, the crown-prince in the galaxy of Greek thinkers, defined philosophy as "the science of sciences and the art of arts." There could be no real philosophy of wine-drinking until science had exhausted its skill in comparing the facts as to the effects of wines; nor until art had culminated in its efforts to counteract the insidious and deadly poison in fermented wines. Among the Greeks, centuries before the age of the philosophers, poets had pictured wine-drinking as one of the vices of men; and historians had recorded their effects on society. Homer, writing of the Greeks who lived eleven centuries before Christ, alludes to wines of various colors and characters. The gods drank "nectar," but "drink no ruddy wine." The nature of the Greek "nektar" as distinct from "oinos" seems to be like that of the Hebrew "tirosh" as distinct from "yayin." That it was made like wine from

the juice of the grape, Homer indicates by describing it, as "red like wine" (Iliad xix. 38; Odyssey, v. 93). That nektar was, like "tirosh," derived from the strained, sugary ingredient of the fresh pressed grape, is indicated by its special sweetness, and more by Homer's designation (Odyssey ix. 359), "nektaros aporrox," or extract of the burst grape; "aporrox" being a compound of the Greek preposition "apo," from, and the word 'rox," used by the Greek translators to designate 'tirosh" in Isa. lxv. 8. That it was specially healthful, preservative of the bodily tissues as opposed to fermented wines, which the Greeks had learned were destructive of health, is indicated by the general statement that the drinking of nektar gave immortality to both gods and men; while, also, we have the special statement of Homer that Thebis bathed the corpse of Patroclus in nektar to preserve it from decay (Iliad xix. 38). Hector, the Trojan champion, remonstrates with his mother for offering him wine, lest it should "rob him of both strength and courage." The Greek heroes drank "diluted wine" only; from the "same urn" of "diluted wine," drinking themselves and pouring out "libations to the gods." (See Iliad i. 598; ii. 128; iii. 391; iv. 3,207; vi. 266; xix. 38, etc.) In the poem of his old age, the Odyssey, Homer pictures the sage as obtaining from Maron, a priest of

Apollo, a "sweet (edus) wine," which needed when drunk, to have twenty parts of water added which wine given to the Cyclops, Polyphemus, had a *soporific* rather than an intoxicating effect; as the milk of Jael put Sisera to sleep. The reasonings of Trojans and of Greeks, of Hecuba, Hector and of sage Ulysses, wrought by the poet into his sketches, show that at this early day the common reason and conscience of observing men was quick and imperative as to the use of wine by men who sought to be all for which they were made; while reverence for the Divine Being led the earliest Greeks to a resort in the religious employ of wine which is controlling to this day among Christian Greeks. It had led to the invention of an unintoxicating product of the grape; as among the Asiatic patriarchs.

In the period between the early epic poets and the later philosophers, the historians and dramatic poets add much to show the history of Greek opinion as to wines. Herodotus (vi. 84) says that among the Spartans, trained to abstinence, it was believed that the "madness of Cleomenes," which led to their reverses, was due to the fact that their leader, through seduction of the Scythians, formed the habit of drinking "undiluted wine."

The testimony of Herodotus confirms the fact important in subsequent history, that the *meli*, or

honey of the early Greeks, was, like the *debsh* of the Hebrews, a syrup made from grapes and other juicy fruits. Thus, among the Babylonians on the Euphrates, he says (i. 193) that, of the fruit of the palm "they make bread, wine, and honey." Again, of honey among the Lybians on the Nile, he relates (iv. 194): "Amongst them bees make a great quantity; and it is said that the confectioners make much more." The meaning of the Greek *meli*, and of the Syrian *debsh*, is found in the "meli agrion," or "wild honey" of the Greek translation of the Old Testament (see Gen. xliii. 11; Judges xiv. 8); of the New Testament (Mat. iii. 4; Mark i. 6), and of Roman writers such as Diodorus (xix. 94).

Æschylus in his Eumenides (v. 108) alludes to "oblations without wine, unintoxicating propitiatory offerings;" showing the depth and permanence of the Greek sentiment which forbid the use of intoxicating wines in religious rites. Sophocles, to the same effect, in his Œdipus Colonæus, commends his prayer to the avenging furies, by the mention, "I, abstemious, come to you who abstain from wine;" thus implying that the vengeance they wreaked would be unjustifiable if either he who asked for it, or they who inflicted it, were excited by wine; a sentiment emphasized by the chorus (v. 481), who warn Œdipus that he bring only oblations of honey, or

grape-syrup, and offer no "inebriating beverage" (methu). This profound sentiment of the tragic poets is thrown into stronger relief by the half sincere, half censorious cavils of Aristophanes, the comic poet; as when in his "Acharnanians" he represents the guests as saying, "we drank against our will . . . . sweet undiluted wine," when in another place he pretends to ridicule the women who "swear over the cup to put no wine in it," because "they like their own undiluted;" and when, yet again, he makes an inebriated young Athenian say (Lysist. v. 1228), "When we are abstinent we are not in vigor."

The testimony of the great Greek physician of his age, Hippocrates, is specially noteworthy. In his "Aphorisms," so permanently valuable in their correct analysis that they are still published as a pocket companion for French medical students, are numberless suggestions as to the value of abstemiousness in a variety of diseases; while the suggestion of the use of wine (Aph. vii. 48) in a single instance leads to an important principle. The direction is: "Strangury and retention of urine stupefaction and blood-letting relieve." The Greek *thorexis* (Latin translation vini potus) indicates that an *anesthetic*, essential in such a painful disease, was sought by the Greeks in stupefying alcoholic drinks. In his "Diate Oxeon," or Treatment of Acute Diseases

Hippocrates' prescriptions of various products of the vine have called forth criticism in every succeeding age. He minutely describes symptoms in fever which may determine when "sweet, strong, or black wines, and when hydromel (honey and water), or oxymel (honey and vinegar), should be given." He says, "The sweet affects the head less, attacking the brain more feebly; while it evacuates the bowels more," a fact made noteworthy in the statements of Roman and Rabbinic writers of later date. He says again, "There is a difference as to their nutritive powers between undiluted wine and undiluted honey (or syrup)." "If a man drink double the quantity of pure wine," he will find himself no more strengthened than from half the same quantity of "honey." Both the hygienic and nutritive effects of unintoxicating and of intoxicating products of the vine thus brought into contrast by Hippocrates, are discussed by his Grecian, Roman and mediæval commentators. Alexander Trallienus says, that as the "use of wine" is "attended with certain evil consequences . . . . it is the part of a prudent physician to weigh their good and bad effects." Athenæus quotes the following as a further direction of the great Greek physician: "Take syrupy-wine, (glukun, distinct from *oinon edun*), either mixed with water or heated, especially that called *protropos*, the sweet

Lesbian; for, the syrupy sweet wine (glukazon oinos) does not oppress the head and affect the mind, but passes through the bowels more easily than sweet wine" (oinou edeos). The distinction between the terms *glukus* and *edus*, as applied by the Greeks to wines, is here manifest.

Protropos, or *prodromos*, as Dioscorides, the great botanist of a later age, explains, is the *premature* oozing juice which bursts the grape skin and flows out spontaneously; a product composed almost entirely of the saccharine or unfermenting, as distinct from the albuminous or fermenting portion of the grape-juice.

THE LAW OF WINES AS DISCUSSED IN GREEK PHILOSOPHY.

Among the leaders in the now prepared age of philosophy, Socrates the moralist, Democritus the materialist, Plato the idealist, and Aristotle the practical logician, are prominent. Xenophon in his Banquet (ii. 14–16) puts into the lips of Socrates this comprehensive statement: "I too, my friends, should be agreeably affected by drinking; as the mandragora puts men to sleep, and as oil feeds flame. . . . . If we, in like manner, pour into ourselves drink in too great quantities our bodies and minds will soon become powerless, and we shall be scarcely able to breathe, much less to articulate anything. But, if our

servants refresh us from time to time with small cups . . . . then, not being forced to become intoxicated with wine, ... we shall arrive at more agreeable mirth." Two facts are to be observed in this statement. First, Socrates here, as was his wont, teaches a principle by appealing to its influence when uncontrolled; and second, he alludes to the degrading idea that a wise man must be guarded by "servants," having no self-control, when "athletes" can restrain themselves and never touch wine.

The spirit of Democritus, the materialist, is indicated by Pliny (Nat. Hist. xiv. 2) in his scathing irony on the pride of this philosopher in "professing to know all the kinds of wines in Greece," as if this were a triumph of science.

The reasoning of Plato, the idealist, as to wine, though alluded to elsewhere, is chiefly found in his Laws. In this lengthy dialogue there are three chief speakers; first a Cretan, from the isle where Minos made the first collection recognized as natural law by the Greeks; second, a Spartan, wedded to the stern military code of Lycurgus; and third, an Athenian, representing the republican city where at an early day the philosophic code of Solon was elaborated, from which the Roman civil code derived its first germs. The Cretan is the inquirer, drawing out the advocates of the two extremes; the rigid discipline of

Spartan military regimen; and the free spirit of personal indulgence, spurning restraint, which at Athens made liberty lead on to license. The law as to drinking intoxicating wine is the first discussed, occupying two whole evenings. It has this prominence, because on the one side it is urged that laws restraining the use of wine are sumptuary laws, infringing on individual freedom; while, on the other hand, it is urged that these are civil statutes proper, because they are essential to protect families and society from the injury brought by intoxication. The Spartan argues (Laws, B. I., c. ix): "The laws at Sparta relating to sensual indulgence seem to me to be laid down most beautifully (kallista) of all. For, that by which men fall into the greatest sensual indulgence, into insulting conduct, and into all kinds of folly, the law expels from our whole country. You would not see in the fields or in the cities over which the Spartans have control, banquets, or any of their attending associations; which associations excite by their inherent influence every kind of excess. There is not a man, who, meeting with a person reveling in intoxication, would not immediately inflict on him the severest punishment. Nor would he let the party go free, pleading as an excuse a Dionysiac festival; as I once saw was the case with your people riding in carts and as, indeed, at Laurentum,

among our colonists, I have seen the whole city intoxicated during the Dionysiac festival. But with us there is nothing of the kind." The point of the Spartan allusion to the Dionysiac festival is seen in the fact that Bacchus, or Dionysios, was the reputed introducer of wine-culture, probably from India and Egypt, into Greece ; a culture at first a blessing when Bacchus taught syrup-making, but perverted when intoxicating wines were invented. Hence Bacchus was pictured in early Grecian art as a modest youth ; but in later art as a drunken, half-naked reveler. Hence, too, the festivals in his honor were at first as simple as the Hebrew feast of the tabernacles held at grape-harvest ; but afterward they degenerated into scenes of the most beastly and unseemly debauchery. Hence, farther, the Spartans permitted these festivals only that their occasional lessons might deter their youth from touching intoxicating wine, and on the principle thus stated by Plutarch in his Lycurgus : " Sometimes they made the Helots drink till they were intoxicated, and in that condition led them into the public halls to show the young men what drunkenness was." On the same principle the " ethical " painters, as Aristotle calls them, pictured Bacchus in his beastly drunkenness and nakedness to shock the sense of decency and of virtue in ingenuous youth.

The Athenian has now his argument, occupying two entire books of the twelve, and drawing the Cretan as well as the Spartan into sharp debate. The Athenian has beforehand stated the question at issue to be this: not "whether a person finds fault rightly or not with the Laconian or Cretan polity?" but whether legislators "shall permit any youth to inquire which laws are well or ill established?" not silencing inquiry by the arbitrary dogma "that they are all beautifully laid down, since the gods were the parties who gave them" (I. 7). Ruling out all question as to "drinking to intoxication," which excess (as all agree) law must repress (I. 9), he argues that "discipline" in any special pursuit, as for war, in which abstinence is requisite, tends to undue aspiration for superiority, which injures society at large (I. 10, 11). "Instruction" of the mind, often repressed by mere "discipline," calls for "association" in which the *effects* of drinking may be learned "by experience;" an idea familiar to the Athenians, "fond of debate," though less appreciated by Lacedemonians, noted for "brevity of speech," and by Cretans, for "abundance in thought rather than in words" (I. 12, 13). "Reason says," that to allow the impulses, higher and lower, of a man's nature their conflict, till each man decides which should rule, "is the golden and sacred contest of the

reasoning power which is called the common law of the State." "Passing one's time in drinking" is "too despicable to be considered." But it is only when the "pleasure" of the first cup is followed by dread and misery, that *positive temperance* is learned; for "how will any one be perfectly temperate who has not fought with and overcome by reason, and effort, and art, in sport and in earnest, many sensual indulgences and lusts, that urge him to act with shamelessness and wrong." There comes, indeed, the question whether one should test himself in "solitude," or "in the company of many fellow-drinkers;' among whom he might fail "before reaching the last drink that he could bear without intoxication" (I. 13, 15).

The first sitting thus ended, the second is taken up with an application of this principle to the 'education" of the young; education having as its office "the drawing and leading of youth to that which has been called by the law 'right reason,' and which has been decreed by the most reasonable and oldest men through their experience." Here arises the question how "youth may be accustomed not to feel joy or sorrow in things contrary to the law" (II. 1–5). The laws relating to the parallel excitements of the dance and of the theater are associated always in legislation with wine-drinking; since

they are mutually seductive to youth (II. 5–8). The conclusion to which even the speculative Athenian is obliged to come is thus stated: "Shall we not lay down a law, in the first place, that boys shall not taste wine at all until they are eighteen years of age; teaching them that it is not proper by a funnel to bring fire to ruin the body and soul before they are prepared to put forth efforts to resist; thus exercising caution against the inflammable nature of young persons, afterward, indeed, to taste wine in moderation until they are thirty years old, though a young man is by all means to keep himself from intoxication and much wine; on reaching forty years, to indulge freely in convivial meetings called for the worship of the other gods; later still, to invite Dionysios to the mystic rites and sports of old men, in which he kindly bestowed wine upon man as a remedy to the austerity of old age." The tendency of this reasoning, at which Socrates is not present, which forms a part of the legislation proposed for Plato's ideal Republic, where community of goods and of wives is advocated—a legislation which certainly is as arbitrary as the Spartan, and utterly opposed to the *natural* law of the Creator—needs no comment in this day, as it fell powerless on the minds of the Greeks and of all other people that have admired, yet shunned, Plato's speculative dream.

We do not wonder that, pushed still by the Spartan and Cretan, the Athenian "law-dreamer" admits that legislation as to intoxicating drink is not a sumptuary law; for mere "agreeableness in food and drink" constitutes sensual indulgence, while their contributing to health and the welfare of men is "rectitude and virtue" (II. 10). He admits that "there ought to be laws as to convivial drinking," restraining the man "who has become too confident, bold, and over-impudent, and unwilling to endure a regulation;" that "leaders" in society must be abstemious, since it requires "*sober* leaders" to "fight against drunkenness;" he allows that there is force in the tradition that Juno avenged herself on "Jupiter's bastard son, Dionysios, by making him insane, and that he, again, to avenge himself, introduced the Bacchanalian rites, and the whole of its mad choir; for *which reason*, also, (*i. e.*, in fiendish revenge) he gave wine to man." He accords that wine-drinking "is an evil;" and yet it is not thence to be concluded that it is to be excluded as "unworthy of the State." He admits farther, that if legislation on wine-drinking takes a lower character than this ideal, namely, "that men may learn virtue by experience," if it were proposed that "it shall be lawful for any one to drink both when he pleases and with whom he pleases, and in connection with any

pursuit whatever, I would not give my vote in this manner." Opposing still the prohibitory laws of the Cretans and Spartans, he would sanction enactments to the following effect: "That no one, when in camp, is to taste of that drink, but to subsist upon water during all that period; that in the city neither a male nor female slave should ever taste it; nor should magistrates during the year of their office; nor pilots and judges, when engaged in their official business; nor any one who goes to any council to deliberate upon any matter of moment;" and he adds, what deserves a place in modern thought, "when thinking of begetting children." He farther adds, in conclusion: "Many other cases a person might mention in which wine ought not to be drunk by those who possess mind and share in framing laws; so that, according to this reasoning, there is to no state any need of many vineyards; but other kinds of agriculture should be required by law, and those providing every article of diet." Certainly this view of the field of legislation is wondrously instructive to all later ages and nations. For, the only really debatable question, according to Plato's Athenian, is whether it is wise to train mature men to see how much they can drink and yet resist intoxication. It would be strange if this dream should be deemed a guide in any modern community, when it

never commended itself to the ancient Grecian community, who only listened to Plato as a suggestive though fanciful dreamer. The last suggestion, like that of community of goods and of wives, in Plato's Republic, enacts the most arbitrary of sumptuary laws, the arbitrary control over the crops each man may raise; a communistic regulation.

Aristotle, the practical as well as logical reasoner, profound in natural science as well as in moral philosophy, presents principles which sometimes directly and sometimes indirectly apply to the use of wine.

In his "Meteorics," from whose acute analysis Sir Wm. Hamilton drew much that has been accounted as his own, Aristotle presents some of the properties of wines, which are special guides in deciding important questions as to Christ's teachings. Speaking of the influence of heat and cold on different liquids, he distinguishes between those which, like water, are wholly evaporated; and those which, like milk, are resolved into two parts, as whey and curd; and those which as wine are rendered viscid and glutinous (IV. 3). He says (IV. 7), "There is a certain wine, the unfermented *gleukos*, which may be both congealed (pegnutai) by cold, and evaporated (epsetai) by heat." Again (IV. 8): "Those liquids are incapable of being congealed that have no watery

element; as honey (meli) compared with unfermented wine (gleukos)." Again he says (IV. 9) "Wine, indeed, that is the sweet (ho glukus) may be evaporated (thumiatai), for it is glutinous (pion) the same as oil. For, it is not congealed by cold and is inflammable. In name, indeed, it is wine, but not in operation (ergo); for, first, its taste is not wine-like (oinodes); again, for this reason, that it does not intoxicate (methuskei); which is the effect of wine generally." This certainly settles the question whether the Greek "gleukos" is an inebriating beverage, if the Greek "methuskei" be taken, as often the English term "drunk" is, in that sense; while if its generic signification of "gorge" be in Aristotle's thought, the distinction between "gleukos" and wine proper is established.

In his "Poetics" (XXV. 14), Aristotle condemns the poets for picturing the gods as indulging in wine, even though their representations are only figurative, to indicate that they are happy.

In his "Ethics," in which he treats of the moral principles which are the foundation of government and laws, Aristotle makes "temperance" to be "the mean" between abstemiousness and indulgence; as "courage" is the mean between cowardice and rashness; but he carefully distinguishes between the partaking of healthful food and simple drinks, and the use of mere lux-

uries, and especially of intoxicating beverages; indicating that *abstinence* from such indulgence is temperance. His words are, "By *abstaining* from sensual indulgences we become temperate; and, when we have become so, we are best able to abstain from them;" a double principle applicable to moral training (B. II., c. ii., sect. 6, 7, 8). He admits the force of Plato's reasoning, in part, as to education; but makes these profound suggestions. There are three classes of attainments important in education: the honorable, the expedient, the pleasant; which are the virtues severally of the moral, the intellectual and the bodily natures in man; while their opposites, to be avoided, are the dishonorable, the inexpedient and the unpleasant, or painful. The latter, the training to "bodily virtue," is to be specially a matter of *forcible restraint by law;* since the impulse to sensual indulgence is common to man and animals, and must, as in them, be restrained by the infliction of bodily pain; and, also, because we "make pleasure and pain the rule of our action," and because "it is more difficult to resist the impulse to sensual pleasure than to resist anger," which is a moral impulse. In view of this he reaches the profound conclusion: "He who abstains from the bodily pleasures, and in this very thing takes pleasure, is the temperate man; but he who feels pain at it, (*i. e.*, at prac-

ticing abstinence) is intemperate." (II. iii. 1–9).

As it is difficult in some cases to find the "mean," which constitutes virtue, Aristotle gives these significant rules: "First, keep away from that extreme most contrary or dangerous;" as Circe advised Ulysses (Odys. xii. 219) in steering between Scylla and Charybdis. "Second: let us consider the vice to which we are most inclined .... and drag ourselves away toward the opposite extreme .... as people do with crooked sticks to make them straight. Third: let us be most on our guard against what is pleasant, and pleasurable; for we are not unbiased judges of it. Just, then, as the Trojan elders felt respecting Helen (Iliad, iii. 158), must we feel respecting pleasure; and in all cases pronounce sentence as they did; for thus, by *sending it away*, we shall be less likely to fall into error." He adds, in conclusion: "By so doing, then, to speak in summary, we shall be able to hit the mean" (II., ix. 3–5). *Abstinence*, according to Aristotle, then, is *temperance.*

Discussing the "will" as an element of virtue in acts, Aristotle notes a principle of evil in the use of intoxicating drink. Stating the distinction between doing wrong "through ignorance," *i. e.*, when there is no means of knowing what law requires, and doing wrong "*with* ignorance," *i. e.*

when some wrong feeling or habit blinds a man to what he might have known to be law, he illustrates the principle thus: "He who is under the influence of drunkenness does not seem to act *through* ignorance; but, under the influence of one of the motives mentioned, to act, not knowingly; or, *with* ignorance" (III., i. 15).

Comparing intemperance with incontinency, or licentiousness, Aristotle says: "The former is incurable, the latter curable. The former, as a depravity, resembles dropsy and consumption, but incontinency resembles epilepsy; for the former is a permanent, and the latter is not a permanent vice" (VII., viii. 1). Americans have appreciated Greek wisdom; and this suggestion deserves thought. Giving an entire book to the consideration whether "pleasure" is, as in the Epicurean philosophy, a main end to be sought in life, Aristotle urges the importance of this question; since "when we educate the young we control them" by an appeal to motives of "pleasure and pain." He insists that "it is of the greatest consequence in laying the foundation of *moral* character that men should learn to take delight in what they ought, and to hate what they ought" (X., i. 1, 2). He observes that, "The impulsions of the intellect conflict with the impulsions of the senses;" that each impulse is increased by culture; and that bodily indulgences

come to interfere with intellectual pleasures; as is illustrated by "persons who eat sweetmeats in the theaters" when the "actors are bad," not appreciating the sentiment of the drama (X., v. 1–7). Returning to the importance of "right education in the path of virtue from childhood," and observing that "to live temperately and patiently is not pleasant to the majority, and especially to the young," he argues: "Therefore education and institutions ought to be regulated by law; for they will not be painful when they have become familiar" (X., ix. 8). As a justification of the requiring by law "abstinence" as essential to temperance, he says: "The bad man desires sensual pleasure, and is corrected by pain, like a beast of burden. Therefore it is a maxim that the pains ought to be such as are most opposed to the pleasures that are loved." He adds: "Legal enactments and customs have authority in states, in the same way as the words of a father and customs in private families" (X., ix. 10, 11, 16).

In his "Politics," in which moral principles are applied to government and laws, Aristotle mentions six essential provisions in a state on which it is proper to legislate; first, food; second, mechanic arts; third, arms for defense; fourth revenue to maintain law; fifth, religion; sixth, courts of law (vii. 8). Hence, "temples" and

markets with "public tables," *i. e.*, licensed eating-houses, are alike matters for legislation (vii. 12). Again, as the soul of man has two parts—first, that deriving knowledge through the senses and influenced by fleshly impulses, and, second, reason, and as the inferior ought to be ruled by the superior, so "he who composes a body of laws ought to extend his legislation to everything" requisite to "the superior nature and its ends;" the Spartans, erring not in their prohibitory laws, but in constituting the State with laws to "make war, and victory the end of government;" which laws when peace came were overridden by the spirit of indulgence (vii. 14). He adds: "The body, therefore, demands our care prior to the soul; the appetites for the sake of the mind; the body for the sake of the soul" (vii. 15).

Applying these precepts to education, he insists that by law everything exciting sensual impulses, "the pleasures of the table," as well as "obscene stories, and pictures, and comedies," should be prohibited; because "a good education will preserve youth from drunkenness, and from all the evils that attend on these things" (vii. 17). In his last Book, devoted entirely to the two parts of education called by Plato "gymnastic for the body and musical for the soul," Aristotle indicates, as does Menu, the Brahmin, that while music proper may be perverted from its

high use, the theater, the dance, and the wine-cup are, as Socrates argued, all *intoxicating* in their very nature, and he notes that the poets, as Euripides (Bacch. 382), have made this distinction; calling "wine and the dance," in a different sense from music, "killers of care" (viii. 5). The extremest of modern advocates for "prohibition," as distinct from and opposed to "licensing," were more than anticipated by the profound and practical Aristotle.

In his "Problems," Aristotle alludes to the physiological laws of the action of intoxicating wines; some of which are specially worthy of modern study. His suggestions are the more weighty, because, like Prof. Henry's published lists of "inquiries" for observers in almost every department of science, they hint at once the points to be observed, the methods of investigation, and often the possible or probable solution; many being repeated, with one or more suggested replies. Among the outward and commonly noticed effects of wine awakening inquiry are these: Why are persons, much intoxicated, stupefied, while those slightly intoxicated are like madmen? Why do men stupefied by wine fall on their backs, while men crazed by wine fall on their faces? Why are wine-drinkers made dizzy and their vision affected? Why are persons fond of sweet-wine (glukun-oinon) not wine-

bibbers (oinophlyges) or overcome by wine? Among hygienic inquiries are these: Why are persons given to wine subject to chills, to pleurisy, and like diseases? Why are those who drink wine, slightly diluted, subject to headaches, while wine much diluted produces vomiting and purging? Why do those who drink undiluted wine have more headache next day than those who drink diluted wine? Why does wine greatly diluted produce vomiting, while wine alone does not? Why does sweet wine counteract the effect of undiluted wine? Why is oil beneficial in intoxication? To the latter of these inquiries the suggested solution is: Because oil is diuretic and prepares the body for the discharge of the liquor.

Theophrastus, the pupil of Aristotle, who wrote on the "History of Plants," and on their "Effects," follows up the teachings of his master, both as to the hygienic and moral influence of wines. Thus he compares (Plut. Ait. VI., xvii. 2) the effect of "myrrh" (smyrna), of honey-mixture, and of unfermented wine (glukos); declaring the former, in the case mentioned, preferable. He speaks also in his "Ethical" notes of the moral influence of wine-drinking.

These minute observations of the great thinker of the ages, whose logic Sir Wm. Hamilton could not improve, whose discoveries in Natural

History, Agassiz, up to the last course of lectures he delivered at Harvard University, declared not only anticipated those ascribed to himself, but were still a guide to new explorers, whose ethics and politics are the very foundations on which American and European Constitutions are now made to rest—these minute observations on the "Divine Law as to Wines" certainly are timely for modern consideration. The early fall of Aristotle's brilliant pupil, Alexander the Great, simply from wine-drinking, is a demonstration of the correctness of the philosopher's deductions from a wide range of observation.

WINES, INTOXICATING AND UNINTOXICATING, IN THE DECLINE OF GREECE AND THE GRANDEUR OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC.

In no respect, more fully than in its influence on wine-drinking, did the declaration of Horace prove true, "Græcia capta ferum victorem cepit"—captured Greece took captive its rude victor. When Athens, B.C. 148, and Corinth, B.C. 146, were conquered by Roman armies, when Aristotle's library was among the most valuable treasures brought to Rome, and when three most eminent leaders in the Grecian schools of philosophy, came as ambassadors to Rome, a new era in practical wisdom as to wine-

drinking, as well as in other customs, dawned on the practical Romans. The stern victor and the politic captive found their common affinities; and they mutually influenced each other according to these affinities. The priceless treasures of Roman and Grecian literature in that age afford the richest lessons of the ages for the cultivation of virtue which brings social prosperity. The grand old Roman integrity displaying itself in Stoics like Cato and Seneca, the opposite Epicurean spirit in Horace and Athenæus, and the middle-ground statesman-like reasonings of Cicero and Plutarch, gave a perfect charm to the study, in any point of view, of this age. The subject of wine-drinking was one prominent in thought and policy; and the fact that the three tendencies of thought just alluded to, spontaneously arising from three classes of human impulses, manifested themselves at this era, is an essential clue in threading the intricacies of the labyrinthine citations on wines and their law which opposing writers may readily draw from the writers of this age. As Judaism at this era had its Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes, so Greeks and Romans alike had their practical conservatives, their pleasure-seeking liberals, and their stern ascetics. The important point is to find the common principles which all these classes, in their impartial statements, admit to be

established. These common convictions are "the truth" which ought to guide honest men.

When Alexander, the cultured pupil of Aristotle, transformed into the autocratic military conqueror, was seen at thirty to be in danger from wine-drinking, a physician named Androcydes, Pliny tells us (Nat. Hist. xiv. 5), wrote to him, begging him to avoid wine, since it was "a poison." This clear conviction pervaded the noble men under whose guidance the Roman Republic was coming to absorb under its sway all Western Europe and Northern Africa, in addition to all Alexander's conquests.

Cato, the earliest of the so-called "rustic," or agricultural writers, about B.C. 200, describes specially the mode of preparing must, or unfermented wine, thus: "If you wish to have must all the year, put the grape-juice in a flask (amphora), seal over the cork with pitch, and lower it into a cistern (piscina). After thirty days take it out; it will be must all the year" (De Re Rustica, c. 120). It is worthy of note, that the word "mustum" first appears in Latin literature in the age of Cato, about B.C. 200; after which it is often met till Pliny's day, three centuries later. The word appears during this period as an adjective, meaning "fresh, new, young;" Cato using the expression, "agna musta," a young ewe-lamb. Its indirect meaning of "sweet" is seen

in Varro's expression, "mala mustea," sweet-apples. Sometimes in allusion to grape-juice "vinum mustum" is used, showing that the unfermented juice of the grape was regarded and called wine; just as in modern times fresh apple-juice, before ferment begins, is called "new cider." Other suggestions indicate how the stern patriot was seeking methods of utilizing the products of the vine so as to prevent the use of intoxicating wines. These are omitted, because more fully described by Pliny.

The poet Plautus in the same age pictures the vice of wine-drinking, and compares its influence with that of those who drink only "mustum" or unfermented grape-juice. Thus in his "Pseudolus" or Liar (Act. V. l. 6–8), he makes the hero of his comedy say—

> "Ah, saeviendum mihi
> Hodie est. Magnum hoc vitium vino est,
> Pedes captat primum; luctator dolosus est."

"Ah, I must get angry to-day. There is this great vice in wine: it first seizes a man by the feet; it is a tricky wrestler."

Yet again, Polybius, the philosophic historian, called *pragmatic*, *i. e.*, systematic or business-like, writing as a Greek, about B.C. 160, to explain to his then unconquered countrymen Roman customs, makes this statement (Hist. Kath. I, ii. 8): 'Among the Romans the women were allowed

to drink a wine which they call *passum*, made from dried grapes; which drink very much resembled Ægosthenian and Cretan *glukos*, which men use for the purpose of allaying thirst." He adds that for two reasons a wife could not violate this law of custom; first she was not entrusted with the keys of the wine-vaults; and second, as "it was necessary that she should kiss (philein) her own and her husband's relatives every day when she first meets them," her breath would betray her had she been drinking (VI. ii. 3). This record establishes the fact that the *glukos* of the Greeks of this day was like the Roman "passum" in properties if not in its mode of manufacture; the *passum* being made of raisins soaked in water.

A century and more later, Cicero, writing in the last days of the Republic, intimates that even the rude Gauls had by observation learned the danger of drinking intoxicating wines. He says (Orat. pro M. Font.), "After this they would drink their wine more diluted, because they thought there was poison in it;" this statement implying that to counteract its alcoholic poison they *always* had diluted wines, and that they had learned to add a larger quantity of water when fitness for active service forbade indulgence. In this oration Cicero specially defends his client, Fonteius, then provincial governor in Gaul

from the charge "ut portorium vini instituerit,' that he had levied a tax on wine (Orat. pro Font. x.); the allusion showing that the licensing of the sale of intoxicating liquors with taxes for revenue on that sale, was a Roman custom.

Virgil, the sweet poet of nature, writing under Augustus, pictures (Georg. I. 295) the delight of the winter evenings in his own rural home; when the laborer sat by the fire sharpening his tools, and his wife, beguiling their common toil with her song, was boiling the "flowing sweet must" (dulcis musti humorem); this picture revealing how the product of the grape was used by the simple children of nature at that day.

In the same age the opposing tendency of fashion, pride, luxury, and its attendant inhuman trifling with female virtue, is seen in Horace; himself rather the Burns, than the Byron of his day. More heartless than Burns, how the serpent shows his fangs as well as his glistening scales in the ode (I. 11) to Leuconoë, whom he would seduce! He writes, "Thou should'st not seek to know—it is wrong to ask what *end* the gods have fixed for me and thee. . . . . Thou mayest taste and strain out the wines. Cut short deferred hope, since time is brief. *Carpe diem*," seize the day. Horace, like Burns and Byron, knew well that it was a demon that possessed him, when thus he wrote. In other

hours Horace pictured the dread approach of the avenging deity, inflicting the penalty for violating known law. Indeed the Athenian's theory in Plato's Laws seems in the case of Horace to have a show of truth; since men of genius in their hours of remorse for yielding to sensual indulgence, bring out with a vividness which only experience could give the dire effects of wine-drinking. With a vein of irony Horace pictures (Sat. II. viii. 30–50) the parade of wines by a pretentious host, from the syrupy-sweet (meli mela) to the vinegar-sour (aceto). With more of seriousness he pictures (Epis. I. xviii. 31–38) the vain young man, in debt for his fine clothes, "tortured both with wine and rage" at his exposure by the unpaid tailor. With sober criticism he writes (Epist. I. xix. 1–6): "If you trust ancient Cratinus, learned Mæcenas, no songs can please long, nor live, which were written by water-drinkers (aquæ potoribus). As soon as Bacchus enrolled poets scarcely sane with satyrs and fauns, soon songs, but partially sweet, smelt of wine. By praises of wine Homer is proved to be fond of wine" (vinosus, *see* Iliad VI. 261). Finally, with philosophic fidelity to truth in his "Ars Poetica" Horace pictures the rural poets, simple and natural, because of their plain diet on "fruit"; while in the age of artificial luxury genius is wooed "by daily wine"

(l. 209). Yet more frank is the poet's confession, when farther on (l. 412–414) he says: "He who studies to reach the desired goal, from boyhood bears and works much, endures heat and cold, and abstains from lust and wine."

At the very time when, at the court of Augustus, Horace was flattering to seduce, and Virgil, by his inspiring Pollio and Æneid, was stimulating a purer aspiration, the profoundest of historians and the most analytic of medical writers were called out. Strabo and Diodorus as historians, are chief authorities as to wine-drinking in their own and former ages. At the same day Dioscorides, the authority in materia medica from that age till after Bacon wrote his "Novum Organum," was prosecuting his comprehensive investigations. In his "*Peri hyles iatrikes*," "Of Materia Medica," he describes various kinds of wines, differing as to age, climate, taste, color, etc. He says, "Old wines are deadening (blaptikoi) to the nerves, and to the other instruments of the senses, hence they are to be avoided by those having any internal organ weak" (V. 7). Again he says (V. 9), "Sweet wine (glukus oinos) disorders the bowels, as does unfermented wine (glukos, Lat. mustum); but it surfeits (methuskei) less." The use of the verb *methusko*, by Dioscorides confirms again the fact, that it is a *general* word, like the En-

glish "drink"; or a designation referring to any of the several effects of wine either as surfeiting stupefying or crazing.

A century later, under emperors of varied character, from Nero to Trajan, a cluster of writers are met whose testimony as to wines is most instructive and impressive. Among these are the historians Tacitus and Plutarch, the naturalist Pliny, the physician Galen, the agricultural writer Columella, and the moralist Seneca.

Plutarch, writing of the past, illustrates and confirms the Egyptian, Grecian and Roman history already traced.

Tacitus, writing of his own, as well as of earlier times, pictures not only Roman, but German habits. He says of the Germans: "To pass day and night in drinking is a disgrace to no one." . . . . "At feasts, mainly, they consult as to being reconciled to enemies, as to making treaties, as to approving their chiefs, and in fine as to peace and war; as if at no time did the mind so lay open its simple thoughts, or warm up to great deeds. A race, neither astute nor ardent, reveals at such times the secrets of the heart under the license of a jest. Then, the thought of all, detected and naked, is the next day taken up again; and decision from both occasions is safe. They deliberate when they know not how

to dissemble; they decide when they are not able to err." Politicians of all ages have appreciated this method of accomplishing an end through a banquet; a custom whose science, as well as its art, was practiced, Herodotus relates (I. 133), by the early Persians; whose philosophy, as here shown by Tacitus (Germ. 22), was conceived by the rude ancestry of nations now leading in modern civilization; yet needing a deeper study of a custom still barbarian, which rather mars than makes, if Tacitus rightly judged.

Columella, the rural writer, more fully than Cato at an earlier age, describes (XII. 29) the mode of preparing unintoxicating wine. He says: "That must may remain always sweet, as if it were fresh, thus do: before the grape-skins have been put under the press, put must, the freshest possible from the wine-vat, into a new flask, and seal and pitch it over carefully, so that no water can get in. Then sink the flask in cold sweet water, so that no part of it shall be uncovered. Then, again, after the fortieth day take it out; and thus prepared, it will remain sweet throughout the year."

Galen, the great authority in general medical science, as Dioscorides was in materia medica down to Bacon's day, describes different kinds of wine: and he states the effects of sweet and

sour, of new and old, of must, fresh or boiled on the human system. He agrees with Hippocrates, whom he cites, and also with Dioscorides, as to the deleterious as well as medicinal properties of the various fruits of the vine, whether diuretic or stimulating; giving special place to their action on the nerves and on the mental faculties. Seneca presents the *moral* lessons of his age as to wine-drinking. In his Epistle (16) on "General Dissolution of Manners," he speaks of the "general complaint" of his age, that "fashion" rules vices; now making "scoffing," now "drinking" respectable; saying as to the latter, "he shall be accounted the bravest man who makes himself the veriest beast." Speaking of "the two blessings of life, a sound body and a quiet mind," he asks, "Who was greater than Alexander?" And yet "his lusts tarnished the glory of all his victories;" and he says: "When the blood comes to be inflamed with excess of wine and meats, simple water is not cold enough to allay that fever-heat; and we are forced to make use of remedies, which remedies themselves are vices." He adds, "Even women have lost the advantage of their sex;" for "they sit up as late as men and drink as much."

Pliny, however, is the most comprehensive as to the history, the physical and the moral evils of wine-drinking, and as to the resorts of wise and

good men in all ages to check its corrupting influence. Five of the thirty-seven books of Pliny's Natural History (12th to 16th) treat of plants, and five more (17th to 21st) of their medicinal properties; and in these, as well as in three subsequent books (23d, 30th and 36th), wine has a large place. He mentions incidentally (B. XII.) that spiced wine at funerals was forbidden by law; the statute reading: "Murrata potio mortuo ne inditur," "let not spiced drink be placed on a corpse." In the next book (XIII. 5) he mentions that in Egypt wines (vina) were made from plums (myxis), figs and pomegranates; showing the wide application of the Latin word *vinum*, illustrative especially of the Greek word *oinos*, also illustrated in the French term "vin."

The next book (XIV.) is largely devoted to the subject of wine. He alludes to the degrading pride of the materialist Democritus; that he boasted that he was familiar with all the kinds of wine produced in Greece (c. 2). He cites (c. 5) the address of the physician Andrócydes to Alexander; in which occurred the expression, "The hemlock is the poison of men, the poison of wine is hemlock." He mentions (c. 9) fourteen kinds of sweet wine, invented to diminish the intoxicating influence of wine; and he defines "defrutum" as wine boiled down to half its consistency. He especially states that

among sweet wines is that which the Greeks call *aeigleukos*, or "semper mustum," always must, or unfermented grape juice; another link in the chain of testimonies as to unfermented wines. Stating that this *aeigleukos* is made by preventing the grape-juice from fermenting (fervere), he defines fermentation thus: "So they call the passing over of must into wines" (musti in vina transitum). He states that fermentation is arrested in Greece by tightly corking the grape-juice fresh from the press-vat; or by drying the grapes, as in Narbonensis on the vines, and at any time preparing from them, soaked in water, the "aeigleukos." He mentions (c. 10) three wines called by the Greeks *deuteria*, second-quality. The first is the *lora* of the Romans; made by grinding up grape-skins in water; the second, also described by Cato, is wine boiled with half water; and the third is lees-wine, made of the settlings of the wine-vat, called by Cato "faecatum."

Coming to the religious bearing of wine-drinking, Pliny says (c. 12): "That Romulus offered libations of milk, not of wine, is proved by the sacred rites which he instituted; which till this day preserve the custom" (morem.) Numa made yet more stringent laws; citing as a reason that Romulus, his predecessor, was fed by Divine interposition "on milk, not on wine."

He ordained, "Do not sprinkle a grave with wine;" and he taught substantially that it was "wrong to make wine." The Old Latins, who preceded the Romans, used wine in religious offerings; but they offered "milk to Mercury," the god of eloquence, indicating that no public speaker should be under the influence of wine. He says (c. 18), "The wines of the early ages were employed as medicine," .... "Wines began," he continues, "to be authorized in the six hundredth year of the city." He adds that even then it was used "sparingly;" that women never drank it except "for health;" and that "since this is consistent with religion (constat religione) it was held impious (nefastum) to offer wine to gods." He adds that the Greeks indicated the same reverence in the fact that the wines they offered as libations were diluted (aquam habeant). Proceeding farther on to describe the methods invented to secure unintoxicating wines, he exclaims, after tracing (c. 22) the fearful effects of intoxicating wines, "Alas! what wondrous skill! and yet how misplaced! Means have even been sought for becoming inebriated on water-preparations." Among the counter-methods of preventing intoxication (c. 24, 25) he describes, as Cato and Columella, the preparation of must; he notices the Greek *protropos* as the "must which flows of its own accord before the grapes are

trodden;" he further mentions "a mode (ratio) of preserving musts in the first stage of ferment" (in primo fervore); and again shows how to arrest ferment, when by carelessness it arises in must, by the use of anything that has sulphur in it, as pumice-stone (pumice) or lava, the yolk of eggs, or sulphur fumes.

Pliny closes this book (c. 28) with one of the most eloquent of total-abstinence appeals ever penned or uttered. "How strange," he exclaims, 'that men will devote such labor and expense for wine, when water, as is seen in the case of animals, is the most healthful (saluberrimum) drink; a drink supplied, too, by nature; while wine takes away reason (mente), engenders insanity, leads to thousands of crimes, and imposes such an enormous expense on nations." He says that confirmed drinkers "through fear of death" resulting from intoxication, take as counteractives "poisons such as hemlock" (cicutam,) and "others which it would be shameful to name." "And yet," asks he, "why do they thus act?" "The drunkard never sees the sun-rise; his life by drinking is shortened; from wine comes that pallid hue, those drooping eyelids, those sore eyes, those trembling hands, ... sleep made hideous by furies during nights of restlessness, and as the crowning penalty of intoxication (præmium summum inebrietatis) those dreams

of beastly lust whose enjoyment is forbidden." He adds that many are led into this condition "by the self-interested advice of physicians (medicorum placitis) who seek to commend themselves by some novel remedy." It was this "that led to the cruelty of Tiberius; this corrupts youth, as was even the son of Cicero;" while, he adds, "as I think, the great evils brought on us by Antony, came through his intoxication." In later allusions new and important light is thrown on Roman experience as to wine.

Closing up in the opening of his 23d book his statements as to wine, striking the balance between those who extol and those who condemn it, he says (xxiii. 1): "All must is useless for digestion (stomacho), but is a gentle aid to circulation" (venis). As to intoxicating wines, professedly taken as a medicine, he exclaims: "Moreover, how uncertain the result, whether in drinking there may be aid or poison (auxilium sit aut venenum"). "In the history of medicine," he continues, "differing views have been held;" some saying, "by the moderate use of wine the muscles are strengthened, but by its excess they are injured, and so with the eyes." Among others, the physician Asclepiades extravagantly remarked: "The virtues possessed by wine are hardly equalled by the gods themselves." As the result of all testimonies Pliny

makes these notes: "Sweet wines are less useful for digestion (stomacho); old wine mixed with water is more nutritious; for while sweet wine is less inebriating it floods (innatat) the stomach." As to its effects on the mind, he notes, "it has passed into a proverb 'Sapientiam vino adumbrari,' that wisdom is beclouded by wine." As to its unnatural influence on appetite, he declares, "We men owe it to wine that we alone, of all animals, drink when not thirsty." Many like suggestions are added.

If any age was ever advanced in its clear views of the nature of wine as "the fruit of that forbidden tree" which "brought death into the world," and much of "human woe," it was this climactic age of Roman-Grecian culture. It should be observed that the language then perfected was chosen for the embodiment both of the first translation of the Old Testament and also of the New Testament. This climactic age, moreover, of the practical Romans, was the one Divinely chosen for the mission of Jesus and of His apostles; who taught the permanent law of duty as to intoxicating wines.

WINES IN THE GREEK TRANSLATION OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

In the century following Alexander's Grecian Empire, Hebrew translators prepared the Greek

version of the Old Testament Scriptures which was used by Christ and His apostles; to which was added the books called "apocryphal" or "deutero-canonical;" containing valuable illustrations of Hebrew history and sentiment, written in the Greek of the Alexandrine age. These indicate how Hebrew terms for wine were translated into Greek; and what ideas as to wine were held by Hebrews associated with Greeks.

As to the Greek terms used for Hebrew terms for wines and their differing effects, a careful review of the authorities already cited is, for two reasons, demanded. First, the Greek language itself took on special modifications, when after the death of Alexander the Greeks who dwelt in Asia came to use Asiatic words and forms of speech. Second, the nature of those modifications is not so fully manifested in the Alexandrine Greek writers as it is in the Hebrew authors of the Greek translation of the Old Testament, and in the New Testament writers. As, in Canada, the French natives have one class of provincialisms, and the English, speaking French, another class, so was it in Syria and Egypt from B.C. 250 to A.D. 100; the era of the Greek Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments.

With two noteworthy exceptions, the Hebrew term *tirosh*, as well as the word *yayin*, is rendered by the general term *oinos*, wine. This, for a

double reason, was natural. First, foreigners usually learn, in a new country, general terms before they fully comprehend specific terms. Second, the Greek specific term for unfermented wine, *gleukos*, was of late invention; it was when invented, like the Latin "mustum," but an adjective slightly changed in form to be used as a noun; and yet more, as Aristotle intimates, it was, though a special term, ranked under the general term *oinos*. In two cases, however, as we have noted, the Greek translators are specific in their translation of *tirosh*. In Isaiah lxv. 8, it is rendered *rox*, or burst-fruit; the connection, as heretofore mentioned, indicating that the reference of *tirosh* is to fresh grape-juice, still in the grape, and so abundant as to burst the skin.

In Hosea iv. 11, however, where the English translation is, "Whoredom and wine (yayin) and new wine (tirosh) take away the heart," the Greeks make the object the subject; and bringing forward from v. 12, the words "my people" they render: "The heart of my people takes to (exdexato) fornication and wine (oinon) and *methusma*." The English translators agreeing with all mediæval versions, saw reasons for employing the words "new wine" to render *tirosh;* those reasons have already been indicated; and the ordinary Greek rendering of *tirosh* elsewhere was one among those reasons. The only re-

maining inquiry here is this: What prompted the Greek translators to this unusual rendering in this single passage? Since much of the modern controversy as to the nature of *tirosh* has turned on a manifestly mistaken view of this exceptional rendering of the word by the Greek translators it is appropriate that it receive due consideration.

As already noticed, the root word *methē*, in Greek, indicates "surfeit." In the verbal root *methuo* this signification is more fully preserved than in the derivative *methusko*. The noun "methusma," not found in classic, but only in Byzantine and modern Greek, is derived from the root verb *methuo*. The tendency to this distinction in the two verbs is specially observed in the New Testament; and it has been preserved in such translations as the Latin and German where the distinction could be indicated. The verb "methusko" is met three times: in Luke xii. 45; Eph. v. 8; 1 Thess. v. 7. The verb "methuo" is found seven times: in Matt. xxiv. 49; John ii. 10; Acts ii. 15; 1 Cor. xi. 21; 1 Thess. v. 7; and Rev. xvii. 2, 6. In each of the former cases intoxication is indicated; but in 1 Cor. xi. 21, the contrast between "hungry" and "drunken" shows that it is surfeit, both with food and drink, that is indicated; while in John ii. 10, and Acts ii. 15, the same meaning is apparently indicated.

Coming to the Latin language, the same distinction is found between *ebrio* and *inebrio*. The former is used for distinctiveness when surfeit is specially to be indicated, and the latter when intoxication is to be made prominent; as the mere English student may learn from Webster under the word "inebriate." This usage is seen in Pliny; whose age, from A.D. 23 to 79, is specially illustrative of the Greek of the Old and New Testaments, as well as of the early Latin versions, and of Latin annotations on both the Old and New Testaments. Thus Pliny says of an apple excessively juicy and luscious: "rumpit se pomi ipsius ebrietas," the very juiciness of the apple bursts it; and again, "Uvae vino suo inebriantur," the grape-clusters are inebriated with their own wine. In the Latin of Jerome "methuo" in the distinctive passages alluded to is rendered "ebreo" and "methusko" by "inebrio." Jerome renders Hosea iv. 11, after the Greek version: "Fornicatio et vinum et ebrietas aufert cor." That by "ebrietas" he means "surfeit," and that he so understood the Greek "methusma," is evident from his added comment: "For as wine and surfeit (ebrietas) render impotent (impotem) the mind (mentis) of him who shall have drunk, so also fornication and luxury (voluptas) destroy the sensibility (sensum) and weaken the energy (animum).

Coming to modern translations the distinction between "methuo" and methusko" is made by Luther, where definiteness seemed requisite in the German renderings. In Luther's translation the word "trunken" is found in John ii. 10; Acts ii. 12; i. Cor. xi. 21; while "saufen" is used in Luke xii. 45, and Eph. v. 18. In Hos. iv. 11 Luther translates from the Hebrew, rendering "tirosh" by "most;" as the English translators rendered it "new wine."

Among other able scholars who have made this special Greek root, and its derivative "methusma" used in Hos. iv. 11, an exhaustive study, was John Cocceius, Professor of Hebrew in Holland, from A.D. 1636 to 1650, and transferred as Professor of Theology to Leyden, at the latter date. His voluminous and exhaustive studies in both these departments form an era in the modern progress of Biblical learning. In commenting on John ii. 10, Cocceius remarks: "It is not to be overlooked that *methuein*, as the Hebrew *shekar*, is not to be taken in an equally broad sense;" and he refers to the following three passages as illustrating his meaning: Ps. xxiii. 5; lxv. 10; Isa. lviii. 11. In Ps. xxiii. 5, for "my cup runneth over;" the Greek is "to poterion sou methuskon," thy cup is brimming. In Ps. lxv. 10, for "Thou waterest the ridges thereof," the Greek has "tous aulakas autes

methuskon," drench the furrows thereof. In Isa. lviii. 11, for "thou shalt be like a watered garden," the Greek has "estai ōs kēpos methuon," thou shalt be as a garden saturated.

This manifest use of the verb, rendered "drunken" in English, by the Greek translators of the Old Testament, will be found to have prepared the way for the study of the New Testament wines.

WINES IN THE APOCRYPHAL BOOKS.

The books styled "deutero-canonical" by scholars of the Roman Church such as Jahn of Vienna, Austria, but generally regarded and styled "apocryphal," were written evidently under the Greek successors of Alexander. They consist of traditional and partially fictitious representations of events in former ages of Hebrew history; records in which more fully than in the translation of the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek, the meeting and mingling sentiment of both races is revealed. In the book of Judith (xii. 1 to xiii. 8), the scene of which is laid in old Assyria, the beautiful Jewish maiden who plotted the assassination of the tyrant Holofernes then oppressing Israel, thus meets the counterplot of the oppressor who wishes to seduce her. Versed in his art, knowing the inflaming influence of wine, Holofernes seeks to persuade her to "drink of his own

wine;" but Judith pleads religious scruples, and urges that she has provision of her own. Pressed still by Bagoas, the king's eunuch, she is firm. She waits till the king, intoxicated already by anticipated gratification of his lust, "drank much more wine than he had drunk at any time in one day since he was born." When, sunk in stupid unconsciousness on his bed, for "he was filled with wine," the maiden took down his falchion from its nail, swung it high, struck two blows, and severed his neck. The forbidden fruit, the serpent, the tempter's failure with the heroine, and her conquest over the tyrant, are all wrought to the life into this picture.

In the Book of Esdras, whose scene is also laid under Darius, during the Jewish captivity in Babylon, when three young men, the last of whom was Zorobabel, who became the leader of the restored captives, speak successively of the four powers, that of wine, of the king, of women and of truth, the champion of wine suggests these among others of its triumphs (1 Esdr. iii. 18–24): "It causeth all them to err who drink it. . . . . It turneth every thought into jollity and mirth. . . . . When they are in their cups men forget their love both to friends and brethren; presently they draw their swords; but when they are out of the wine they remember not what they have done." The facts as to the effects of wine-

drinking, thus pictured, were the same in that age as in all others. Whether men learn wisdom from experience is another question. In the supplement to the Book of Esther, whose scene is an imaginary picture like the other two mentioned of the Assyrian sojourn, queen Esther is represented as making this plea in her prayer: "I have not from desire eaten the king's feast; nor have I drunk the wine of the drink-offerings;" thus intimating that as want of appetite for the feast excused her not eating of the king's viands, so her conscience should excuse her from drinking of the wine impiously made an offering to idol gods.

Finally the Book of the Maccabees, which describes the deeds of those later resisters of Greek tyranny, has this final record, closing the volume of these Hebrew-Greek traditions and histories (2 Macc. xv. 39): "For, as it is hurtful to drink wine or water alone, and as wine mingled with water is pleasant and delighteth the taste, even so speech finely framed delighteth the ears of them that read the story. And here shall be the end." The custom of diluting wines to limit their injurious effect is well compared to the half-intoxicating influence of historic fiction.

In addition to the lessons inwrought into this instructive though fancy-framed history, the Book of "Ecclesiasticus," an imitation of Solo-

mon's Ecclesiastes, as the so-called "Wisdom of Solomon" is an imitation of his Proverbs, is full of hints as to wine like to those of Solomon. This comparison, oft misinterpreted (ix. 10), is like that of Christ equally perverted in Luke v. 39: "Forsake not an old friend; for the new is not comparable to him. A new friend is as new wine; when it is old thou shalt drink it with pleasure." The point of the writer is overlooked when the statement preceding is separated, as it often is, from this declaration. The "old friend" referred to is the wife of one's youth; as in Prov. v. 18, (also Eccles. ix. 9); the influence of wine alluded to is its inflaming of lust; and the result of that inflaming is that pictured by Solomon in Prov. vi. 29; as is apparent to any one who reads the preceding verse (Eccles. ix. 9). This warning is strengthened by allusion to the virtue of the true wife (xv. 3); who gives to her husband "the water of wisdom to drink." It is confirmed as Solomon's parallel by the declaration (xix. 2), "wine and women (*i. e.*, women who themselves are wine-drinkers) will make men of understanding to fall away." The kindred sentiment is more fully brought out in the expressions (xxxi. 25, 26): "Show not thy valiantness in wine, for wine hath destroyed many. The furnace proveth the edge by dipping; so doth wine the heart of the proud in battle." Then follows

the drinker's plea (vs. 27, 28): "Wine is as life to man if drunk moderately. What is life to a man lacking wine? for it was made as a delight to men. Wine drunk in season moderately brings gladness to the heart and delight to the soul." The offset response to this plea is (vs. 29, 30): "Bitterness of soul is in much wine drunk with brawling and quarreling. Drunkenness makes the wrath of the senseless swell unto stumbling; it takes away strength and inflicts wounds." In counsel like that of both Solomon and Jesus, the wise method of meeting the drunkard is added (v. 31): "Rebuke not thy neighbor at the wine-table, nor provoke him while in mirth; utter no reproachful words to him; nor press him by a demand." The mention of the fresh grape-juice in this list of things truly good for man is most significant (xxxix. 25–27): "Good things for the good are created from the beginning. The beginning of all need in the life of man is water, fire, iron, salt, wheat-flour, honey, milk, blood of grape-clusters (aima staphules), oil and raiment. All these things by the pious are turned into good things, so by sinners they are turned into evil things." A marked recognition of the offering alone acceptable to God is recorded of Simon the high-priest, the son of Onias, when he repaired and rededicated the temple, thus (l. 14, 15): "finishing the service

at the altar, that he might adorn the service of the Most High, the Almighty, he stretched out his hand to the cup and offered a libation of the blood of the grape-cluster (espeisen ex aimatos staphules): he poured out (execheen) at the foot of the altar an odor of sweet savor unto the most high King of all." This record of such an age, which links Asiatic to Grecian sentiment, is a key of Old Testament truth fitted to unlock the treasures of the New Testament.

WINE IN THE HISTORY OF CHRIST AND IN THE WRITINGS OF HIS APOSTLES.

As the Hebrew Scriptures of the Old Testament were written in the acme of Asiatic science and philosophy, so the Greek Scriptures of the New Testament were written just after the Augustan age, at the era when the influence of Greek wisdom had culminated in its recasting of thought. As the inspired Hebrew writers did not fall behind the spirit of their age in their teachings as to the influence of wine, it is inconceivable that the perfected revelation of the New Testament should on the same evil fall below the standard of Grecian philosophy and of Roman law.

Three classes of words relating to wine and its law, in the New Testament, require consideration. There are, first, words recognizing the

vine and its products as healthful and precious gifts of God; and here the words for "vine, grape-cluster and branch" are to be noted. There are, second, words mentioning the products of the vine; and here the terms "fruit of the vine, must, new wine, vinegar and wine" are to be distinguished. There are, third, words indicating the effects of wine; and here the terms "wine-bibber," "drunken," and its opposite, "sober," are to be analyzed.

The word "vine," *ampelos*, occurs but in two places in the life of Christ; in His last discourse (John xv. 1–5), where He compares Himself to the vine, and in the allusions of Matthew (xxvi. 29) to "the fruit of the vine" used at the Lord's supper. The term vine is also met twice elsewhere; as in James' question (iii. 12), whether "the vine can bear figs;" and by John (Rev. xiv. 19) in the figure of the vine's fruit gathered and trodden. The "vineyard" is alluded to but three times in the later parables of Christ; as Luke xiii. 6–9; Mat. xx. 1–8, and Mat. xxi. 28–41, repeated, Mark xii. 1–9, and Luke xx. 9–16; and a like allusion is found 1 Cor. ix. 7. The word for "grapes," *staphule*, is used but once, Mat. vii. 16 and Luke vi. 44, in Christ's life, and once by John, Rev. xiv. 18; that for cluster, *botrus*, is but once used, Rev. xiv. 18; and the term "branch," *klema*, specially limited to the

vine, is also but once put in requisition, John xv. 2–6. This very infrequent allusion to the vine, as compared with other products of Western Asia in the New Testament, is naturally observed to be in contrast with the secular Grecian and Roman literature of the age.

The terms for the first and simplest product, "the fruit of the vine" (gennema tes ampelou), used by Jesus to indicate the contents of the cup drunk at the close of the passover (Luke xxii. 18), and again to designate the same cup at the close of his own added appointment of the supper to be perpetuated in the Christian Church (Mat. xxvi. 29; Mark xiv. 25), demand special consideration. The natural meaning, of course, is, that it is the fresh product of the grape. This is in harmony with all the history cited from the Old Testament, beginning with the Egyptian custom alluded to in Joseph's life. This is directly affirmed by Jerome; who, only three centuries after the apostles wrote, spent thirty years in Palestine, specially studying everything iliustrative of the Old and New Testament histories. Finally it is demonstrated by the passover-custom of all subsequent purer ages of Jewish history, and by the universal modern Jewish usage in our country.

The second product, *gleukos*, only once met (Acts ii. 13), already found in Greek usage to be dis-

tinct from *oinos glukos*, or sweet wine, has from such writers as Hippocrates and Aristotle been shown to be must, or preserved grape-juice. The third and next product of the vine is "vinegar," *oxos* of the Greek, *vin-gar* of the French. This was proffered to Christ, and rejected as He was nailed to the cross; called "vinegar" by Matthew (xxvii. 34), but called "wine," *oinos*, by Mark (xv. 23). This was again proffered and received in His final agony; when it is called "vinegar" by the three writers: Matthew (xxvii. 48), Mark xv. 36), and John (xix. 29). This peculiar statement indicates an important transition in the products of the vine, all of which are called by the general name "wine." When in fermentation the acetous triumphs over the vinous fermentation, under the circumstances already described, the alcohol is decomposed and is thus removed from the wine. And yet, in the New Testament as in other Greek records, the general word "wine" is not only, as we have seen, applied to "must," in which no ferment has occurred to create alcohol, but also to vinegar, in which the alcoholic property has been destroyed by the second or acetous fermentation.

The word *oinos*, or wine, is used in all thirty-three times in the New Testament. Of these thirty-three allusions to wine, twenty cluster about six points; John's abstinence (Luke i. 15), and

Christ's allusion to it (Luke vii. 33); Christ's making wine for a wedding (John ii. 2–10, and iv. 46); the proffering to Christ on the cross of vinegar called by Mark wine (Mat. xxvii. 34, Mark xv. 23); the parable of the new wine in old bottles (Mat. ix. 17, Mark ii. 22, Luke v. 37, 38), to which must be added the parable (Luke ix. 39), in which the word wine is understood though not expressed; and the good Samaritan's medicinal use of wine (Luke x. 34). Of the remaining thirteen cases in which the word "wine" occurs, five are found in Paul's epistles, and eight are met in figurative allusions made in the writings of the apostle John.

The word rendered "strong drink," *sikera*, often met in the Old Testament, occurs only once in the New Testament; and there before the birth of John (Luke i. 15). It is certainly significant that allusions to wine, or any product of the grape, should be so infrequent in the New Testament.

The words which allude to the *effects* of wine deserve also special consideration. The word "wine-bibber," *oinopotes*, once used by Christ (Matt. xi. 19, and Luke vii. 34), means, as in classic Greek and in the Greek translation of the Old Testament (as Prov. xxiii. 20, etc.), a *habitual* drinker of wine; the *habit*, rather than the effect of the habit, being prominent in its

signification. The words "methe," used three times (Luke xxi. 34; Rom. xiii. 13; Gal. v. 21), "methuo," used seven times (Matt. xxiv. 49; John ii. 10; Acts ii. 15; 1 Cor. xi. 21; 1 Thess. v. 7; Rev. xvii. 2, 6), "methusos," used twice (1 Cor. v. 11; vi. 10), and "methuskomai," used three times (Luke xii. 45; Eph. v. 18; 1 Thess. v. 7), have, in all cases, a meaning as indefinite as the English words "drink" and "drunken"; while the special root meaning of "methuo" is simply that of surfeit.

The special and definite term "nepho," used six times, and its adjectives *nephalios*, used three times, have the signification of "sober," with the special idea of abstaining from intoxicating drinks. It is the opposite of *sophroneo* and its derivatives, also rendered "to be sober" as a *cause;* though it is correlate as an effect. The word *sophroneo* and its derivatives indicate freedom from nervous and mental excitement produced by *moral* causes; while *nepho* and its derivatives indicate the same condition as produced by exemption from outside influences, especially by abstinence from intoxicating liquors. Following now the gradual development of the New Testament teaching as to the use of intoxicating wines, its significant principle is in as marked contrast to that of the cotemporary Greek and Latin authors as are the New Testament allusions to the vine, its pro-

ducts and their injurious effects. The evils of wine-drinking are seen alike by Matthew and Plutarch, by Mark and Pliny, by Luke and Galen, by Paul and Seneca. But, while Greek and Roman critics, historians, physicians, and moralists suggested *outward* restraints as a remedy, the Gospel of Christ looked to the "power of an endless life" within, begotten by the Divine Spirit's in-dwelling.

The forerunner of Christ, the link between the contrasted Old and New Testament dispensations of law and promise, true successor in abstinence as in moral influence to Elijah, was kept from ever tasting anything intoxicating, not by the power of a personal will like that of Elijah; but, as is recorded, by a double safeguard: first, "he was filled with the Holy Spirit from his birth" (1 Kings xvii. 1; 2 Kings i. 8; Mal. iv. 5; Luke i. 15, 17;) and second, he was guarded by his father's priestly office and by his desert life in food and raiment from temptation to indulgence (Matt. iii. 4; Mark i. 6; Luke i. 39, 80). There can be no question that this abstinence, as in the case of the ancient Brahmins and Egyptian priests, as also in the Nazarites of Israel from Samuel to Daniel, and as yet more in the youthful Cyrus and Alexander, was the secret of mental power and moral stability. In Jesus, however, sinless in nature, whose mission

was "to succour the tempted" by becoming "tempted in all points like as we are," a different life from that of John is seen. He was often at feasts; He was constantly associated with men given to wine-drinking, and women seduced by lust; and yet "without sin." Willful cavillers and honest moralists, then, as now, misinterpreted His course; and contrasting Him with John, who, because he was an ascetic they said had "a devil," they called Jesus a "gluttonous man, a wine-bibber, a friend of publicans and sinners" (Matt. xi. 18, 19). It is to be observed that the "eating" of Christ was made prominent by His critics; while His association with "publicans" who gave feasts was more in thought than His intercourse with "sinners." Luke's mention (vii. 33, 34) of John's abstinence from wine, and especially of abandoned women as the "sinners" who were sometimes at the table where He feasted (vii. 37), shows, as the best interpreters have agreed, that the charge that Christ drank intoxicating wine was as unfounded as the charge that He was sensual and lascivious. To argue that Jesus must have drunk intoxicating wine because He was at a table where wine was drunk, compels also the admission that He yielded to gluttony and to lust. No one who reverences the person and the history of Jesus can accept any such view of this statement; all know that

the three charges were alike a calumny; and the legitimate and necessary inference is that as a sinless being Jesus was, though not an ascetic, as pure in life as was John. The conviction that Jesus did not use intoxicating wine grows with every new development in tracing His life and teaching.

There must be significance in the fact that the first miracle of Jesus is the making of wine for a wedding feast; that John at a *later* day is the one to record this; that he twice alludes to it (ii. 1–11; iv. 46, 54), as a specially significant index to Christ's Divine spiritual mission; and that his special comment as to the impression made by it is so emphatic: "This beginning of miracles did Jesus; and manifested forth his glory, and his disciples believed on him."

The making of the wine illustrates three fundamental truths: first, the nature of miracles; second, the character of the wine Christ used; and third, the moral principles of His teaching. A miracle is an unusual exhibition of God's ordinary working in nature. A miracle is not, as Hume and other sophists have suggested, an interposition "*contrary* to" established natural law. The miracles of Moses were of two kinds. His first were acts of real, as opposed to pretended supernatural power; those of the magicians being an exercise of but natural power:

while those of Moses were at last confessed by them to be not *contra*-natural, but *super*-natural (Exod. vii. 11, 22; viii. 7, 18, 19). His later were natural scourges, common to Egypt; but coming and going, restricted or removed, at the word of Moses (viii. 21, 22, 31, etc.) The opening miracle of the New Testament, like the first wrought by Moses, was a most perfect exhibition of the real nature and design of Divine interposition for man. Wine is nothing else than water, having in solution the sugar, spice and gluten which form grape-juice; and the product which, in the natural development, is slowly made, was by Christ's interposition instantaneously formed. Again, second, the wine made was manifestly the simplest product of the grape; as is indicated by the exclamation of the Governor of the feast on tasting it: "Every man at the beginning doth set forth good wine; and when men have well drunk, then that which is worse; but thou hast kept the good wine until now." The universal custom of a banquet is to use, at the beginning of a feast, light wines, cider or beer; whose influence is aperient and permits greater indulgence. The heavy and specially intoxicating wines are always and everywhere reserved to the last. The light wines of the land of Palestine have been sufficiently indicated. The sherbets of modern times, called wines now,

as we shall see, have succeeded to the unintoxicating wines of Christ's day as the beverage of the first courses at a banquet. Thus, thirdly, the character of the wine made, as well as the nature of the miracle, set clearly forth the character of Christ and the nature of His mission. The Creator of Eden and of all earth's healthful products had come to give to those who should "seek first the kingdom of God and His righteousness" "an hundred-fold" of blessing in this world; one of these healthful products being the unintoxicating wine used at the commencement of a feast.

The next allusion of Christ to wine is in the comparison of the moral influence of His teaching in the excitement it produces, to wine. At the feast made for Him by Matthew the publican, afterward one of His inspired apostles, in reply to a question of John's disciples, "why the disciples of Jesus did not fast," Jesus replies by three or four comparisons; the third of which is this (Matt. ix. 17; Mark ii. 22; Luke v. 37): "No man putteth new wine into old bottles; else the new wine doth burst the bottles, and the wine is spilled and the bottles perish. But new wine must be put into new bottles and both are preserved." Here two questions have arisen; first, the vital one as to the nature of the "wine" here referred to; and second, a sub

sidiary question as to the nature of the "bottles" mentioned. That the wine here called new, "neos," was unfermented, no student who seeks only truth would think of denying; and no one who has followed the Greek usage as to the meanings attached to "oinos," wine, will think of denying that in Christ's day unfermented must as well as fermented wine was called *oinos*. This is certainly the case in this passage; since the ferment, expected after it is put into the bottles, is that which will burst the bottles. The suggestion has been urged that the Roman custom of using new *flasks* in preparing and preserving wines permanently unfermented, lest the remains of ferment adhering to the inside of an old wine-flask should cause ferment in the corked and sealed must, is here referred to. There is, as the best ancient interpreters agree, an allusion to the *fact*, as the word "old" indicates; but not to the *custom*, as the word "bottles' proves. The "bottle," *askos*, here mentioned, as in all classic and later Greek, is the skin-bottle called by the Latins "uter;" while the earthen "amphora" of the Latins, the Greek "keramos," was alone used to preserve must sunk in cold water for thirty or forty days.

Luke records (v. 39) an added illustration of Christ's principle: "No man having drunk old" —the word wine being understood—"straight-

way desireth new;" the idea being that neither the Jewish Pharisees, nor even the disciples of John, accustomed to the Old Testament dispensation, were prepared at once, "straightways," to appreciate fully the principle of the New Testament. This fact, thus stated by Jews, in the very particular here referred to, that of sharing in social feasts, was still a stumbling-block, when seventeen years after Christ's death, A.D. 50, the council at Jerusalem (Acts xv. 20) discussed it; and, indeed, yet later, when Paul, by inspiration, instructed both the Roman and the Corinthian Christians as to its principle (Rom. xiv. 2, 3, 21; 1 Cor. viii. 4–13). Three important principles here are clearly revealed: first, the religion of Christ is opposed to asceticism as well as to luxury; second, the distinction between fermented or alcoholic and unfermented wines is established; and third—since in comparisons the natural truth in the one part must correspond to the spiritual truth in the other—that, though the Old Testament type of purity could be realized by those who drank fermented wines, the New Testament type cannot be realized except in those who restrict themselves to the use of unintoxicating beverages. This latter principle the early students of these words of Christ declare.

The next New Testament allusion to wine is the incidental mention by Luke (x. 34), that the

Good Samaritan used it as a healing application with oil in binding up the wounds of the way-laid traveler. As a Greek physician (Col. iv. 14), Luke was familiar with the action of remedies in his day; the external application of wine and oil following substantially the law of their internal action, the one soothing and the other stimulating. It should be specially recalled that among the Greeks, as in modern medical science, the alcoholic property in wine was an irritant poison; a fact recognized by the Greek physicians in its external applications, as well as in its internal action. The wine of the Good Samaritan must have had very little, if any, of the alcoholic property; otherwise Christ could not have commended the act as worthy of imitation, nor would Luke, the physician, have been the one to record it as commendatory.

The next allusion, and that a vital incident, is the mention of the cup at the institution of the Lord's Supper. As already intimated, the word wine is not employed. It is to be here recalled that in the Old Testament mention, and that in frequent and full descriptions, wine is never mentioned as used at the Passover; and that the only wine mentioned at any Jewish feast is "the sweet," or juice fresh from the wine-vat, employed under Nehemiah (viii. 10), at the Feast of Tabernacles in the autumn, at the time of vin-

tage. In the times of Christ a cup was drunk at the close of the Passover supper by Jesus and the twelve (Luke xxii. 18, 19); while, also, evidently the same cup was again partaken after the broken bread of the Lord's Supper (Matt. xxvi. 27–29; Mark xiv. 23–25; Luke xxii. 20; 1 Cor. xi. 25). The care with which all three writers (Matt. xxvi. 29, Mark xiv. 25, and Luke xxii. 18) have used the expression "fruit" or product of the vine, must be supposed to have arisen from an emphasis put upon it by Christ. The word "gennema" both in classic Greek (as Polyb. i. 71, 1, and Diod. Sic. v. 17), and also in the Greek Old and New Testament Scriptures (Gen. xli. 35; xlvii. 24; Exod. xxiii. 10; and Luke xii. 18), is applied without exception to the *natural* product as it is gathered and stored. The expression "gennema tou ampelou," the translation of the Hebrew "peri haggephen" (Deut. xxii. 9, and Hosea x. 1), unmistakably refers, not to the artificial product, but to the fresh juice of the fruit. We shall see how the early Christian interpreters, studying Christ's meaning in the land where He spoke, and while the Greek of His day was still its language, mention, as if no one then thought otherwise, that Jesus used this expression because the consecrated cup at the Supper contained the fresh

juice of the grape as distinct from the wine, its artificial product.

The last incident in the life of Jesus is so impressive, that earnest men down to Archbishop, now Cardinal, McCloskey, of New York, have urged this dying testimonial as proof that Jesus abstained from intoxicating wine in life, as in death; and that He thus left an example through all ages for His most aspiring followers. Matthew relates that when Jesus had arrived at the place of crucifixion, there was offered to Him "vinegar (oxos) mixed with gall" (choles). Mark calls the same mixture "wine mingled with myrrh" (esmurnismenon oinon). Vinegar is sour wine; gall is the product of the gall-nut, whose properties are now known to be of insect, and, therefore, of animal origin, having the properties of the bile or liver secretion; while myrrh is the resinous gum of a plant. Both gall and myrrh are narcotic in their influence; as the allusions of the Old Testament, of Dioscorides and of Pliny, abundantly indicate. The mingled stimulant of the vinegar or sour-wine, and the narcotic of the bitter admixture, deadened the nerves as the nails were driven. The fact that Jesus rejected this relief indicates certainly His purpose to suffer, without any alleviation, all that man could suffer of bodily agony; while to most minds of high thought and of elevated devotion

it seems to be His call on His followers, who would be like Him, to abstain from intoxicating beverages. The fact that at the close of His expiring agony, when all was finished, Christ "received," instead of rejecting the "vinegar" as is recorded alike by Matthew (xxvii. 48), Mark (xv. 36), and John (xix. 29, 30), is an intimation that when the mission of earthly life is fully over, the last struggle may be properly soothed by narcotics and stimulants. The aversion with which the most thoughtful of sufferers reject modern intoxicants, and beg to be allowed the full use of reason to the last, shows how unnatural is the resort of men in health to the deadening spell; and Christ's rejection of any such relief till He knew His end had come, is in this respect instructive.

Luke, the historian of Jesus, who writes with the skill of a physician, alludes in his second history to a product of the vine calling for notice. The mocking crowd, who had derided Christ in His dying agonies, when the apostles, under the influence of the Divine Spirit, were speaking with tongues, said (Acts ii. 13), "These men are full of *gleukos;*" a word which, as we have seen, means not "sweet wine," *oinon glukon*, but grape-juice. Peter, the leading speaker, responds, "These are not drunken as ye suppose" (hypolambanete), or suggest. The very use of the

word "grape-juice," and their implication that the Apostles were "drunk," is a part of the ridicule thrown upon their utterances; the inadequacy of the cause to produce the effect being designed to add point to the derisive jest. This view is confirmed by the early commentators, as we shall see.

The apostle Paul makes three allusions to wine. The first is found, Rom. xiv. 21: "It is good neither to eat flesh, nor to drink wine, nor anything whereby thy brother stumbleth, or is offended, or is made weak." Paul here alludes probably to the attendance on idol feasts; as the whole chapter (Rom. xiv. 1–23), indicates, and as the like direction to the Christians at Corinth (1 Cor. viii. 4–13; x. 14–33) shows. Since Jews who had become Christians were as a national duty bound still to attend their country's festivals, the Gentile Greeks and Romans would naturally feel it a social and civil obligation not to separate themselves from their countrymen in their national festivities. Since Jesus went to the feasts, yet persistently abstained, as even the most conscientious Jew would abstain, from that which might seem gluttony or to be intoxicating, hence also the Greek or Roman for a stronger reason should guard against indulgence: first, he might be the cause of leading his brother into injurious excess; and second, his feasting in an

idol's temple, though designed by him only as a social courtesy, might be construed into reverence for an idol. The perversion of the Lord's supper that had arisen in the Corinthian Church seems to indicate that, as Jesus partook of His appointed ordinance at the close of the Jewish feast, so the Corinthians partook of the Lord's supper in connection with a social feast. The generic meaning of the word here rendered "is drunken" (1 Cor. xi. 21, methuei), is to "surfeit," either in eating or drinking, as has been noticed. This usage is here both proved and set off by the contrasted word "is hungry" (peina), or is in want. The main lesson of the connection is found (1 Cor. x. 31), "Whether, therefore, ye eat or drink, or whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God." In attaining this end two subordinate aims are secured; first, self-mastery and the "athlete's" reward for abstinence (1 Cor. ix. 24–27); and second, the guarding of the conscience and conduct of a fellow disciple (1 Cor. x. 28).

The second allusion of Paul to wine is found in the expression (Eph. v. 18), "Be not drunk with wine wherein is excess." The word *asotia*, literally "without salvation," rendered "excess," implies in its derivation abandonment, which makes one hopeless of salvation. The noun is elsewhere (Tit. i. 6; 1 Pet. iv. 4) rendered "riot;" and its adverb "riotous" (Luke xv. 13, lit. "living

riotously"). The question might arise whether it is drunkenness with wine, or simply the use of wine in any quantity, that is declared "excess" or hopeless abandonment. Grammatically the words rendered "wherein" (or "in which") refer only to the word wine; and so Jerome in his early translation, made in Palestine, renders and comments on the word; stating that Paul declares that the use of wine is in itself the road to hopeless abandonment in a Christian.

The third and last allusion by Paul to wine, is in his pastoral epistles. One of the qualifications of a "bishop," or pastor, is that he should "not be given to much wine" (1 Tim. iii. 8; Tit. ii. 3); an expression which Jerome explains by reference to 1 Tim. v. 23. This latter is a pregnant hint of inspiration, giving the key to the whole New Testament teaching as to the use of wine. The expression is, "Drink no longer water, but use a little wine for thy stomach's sake and thine often infirmities." How counter to the almost profane perversion of this counsel, sometimes heard on the flippant lips of one seeking an excuse for self-indulgence, is the necessary conclusion suggested by thoughtful and devout minds like Jerome! Timothy has manifestly understood, that, like the "athlete" seeking success, abstinence from intoxicating wine is essential to him who would without fail gain the Christian's crown

and he abstains from even that wine, destitute of the poisonous alcohol, furnished by the laws of social morality, and especially by the *materia medica*, of his day. It requires a direct apostolic counsel to prompt Timothy to use even this wine; and the apostolic direction, as Jerome observes, has two characteristics: first, it is prescribed only as a medicine; second, he is to take only "a little" as a medicine.

WINE IN THE JEWISH WRITINGS OF THE AGE NIGH THAT OF CHRIST.

The three centuries from B.C. 100 to A.D. 200 produced eminent Jewish writers of four classes: historians, philosophers, paraphrasts and commentators. All these writers throw light on the Divine law as to wines, as recognized by the Jewish people and by Asiatics at that age; and they illustrate both the Old and New Testament teachings as to wines. Among historians the works of Josephus are prominent; who wrote about A.D. 75, and who records facts illustrative of the Old Testament narratives. Among the philosophic thinkers of this age, Philo, who wrote about A.D. 40, presents principles as well as facts connected with the Jewish faith. Both Philo and Josephus wrote in Greek; but the terms they use as translations of the Hebrew are all the more instructive. The paraphrasts,

or writers of "Targums," or paraphrases of the Old Testament, and the "Talmudists," or commentators, wrote in the Hebrew of their age, which was Aramaic, or Hebrew modified by the kindred Semitic dialects of their time; and their writings are important links in the chain of testimony as to the meaning of Hebrew terms.

The historian Josephus but confirms allusions already noted in the Old Testament histories. Philo is full of important statements. In his treatise on "Monarchy" he cites, as indicating the duty of entire abstinence from wine, the prohibition to the priests; and says it was given for "most important reasons; that it produces hesitation, forgetfulness, drowsiness and folly." Dwelling on each of these bodily, mental and religious evils, he says: "In abstemious men all the parts of the body are more elastic, more active and pliable, the external senses are clearer and less obscured, and the mind is gifted with acuter perception." Further: "The use of wine . . . . leaves none of our faculties free and unembarrassed; but is a hindrance to every one of them, so as to impede the attaining of that object for which each was fitted by nature. In sacred ceremonies and holy rites this mischief is most grievous of all, in proportion as it is worse to sin with respect to God, than respect to man." Speaking of the ascetic sect of Therapeutæ, he

says, "They abstain from it (wine) because they regard it a sort of poison that leads men into madness." On "Drunkenness" he cites the case of Noah, the second head of the race; and says (c. 36, 38) "it is evident that unmixed wine is poison." Alluding to Aaron's name as indicating "loftiness of thought," he says, "No one thus disposed will ever voluntarily touch unmixed wine or any other drug (pharmakon) of folly." Again (c. 52) he describes the varied inventions in wines, "in order to provide some whose effects shall speedily go off and not produce headache, but on the contrary shall be void of any tendency to heat the blood, ... admitting either a copious or a scanty admixture with water." The effort, perceptible in all ages, still seen in all Oriental religionists, to secure, especially in religious rites, an unintoxicating wine, finds here a link in the very days when the New Testament records were completed.

The principal Targums or paraphrases are those of Jonathan on the sixteen prophetic books, written about A.D. 250, and those of Onkelos on the books of Moses, written early in the second century after Christ. These Targums are utilized in the invaluable Polyglotts of Castel and of Walton, brought out by the spirit of revived learning at the Reformation. The words "yayin" and "tirosh" are usually rendered by

the common term "chamra," corresponding to the Hebrew "chemer;" which, as we have seen, is doubtless an effervescing or light wine. In this the usage of the Greek translators, who used "oinos" for both "yayin" and "tirosh," is followed. Yet, in test cases, the writers of the Targums make the same distinction which was made by the Greek translators. Thus Onkelos on Num. vi. 3, paraphrases the Hebrew "yayin v shekar," by the Chaldaic "chamra chadath v'attiq"; wine, new and old; the term "chadath," new, being found in the older Hebrew of Josh. xv. 25, and in the later Hebrew of Ezra vi. 4; while the term "'attiq" is found Prov. viii. 18. This language of Onkelos shows that the Chaldaic "chamra," like the Greek "oinos," was a generic term, covering the simplest of products of the grape and the concentrated intoxicants made from it. Again, at Prov. iii. 11 another paraphrast uses the verb "thamriq" as to "tirosh"; a word which from its use, Prov. xx. 30 and Esther ii. 2, 3, 9, 12, was evidently an *aperient*, used *internally*; thus illustrating the effects of "tirosh" already cited, as also of the unfermented Greek "gleukos" and of the Roman "must." Yet more: Jonathan paraphrases in the important passage, Hosea iv. 11, the words "yayin" and "tirosh" by "chamra" and "ravyetha." The Hebrew verb "ravah," used fourteen times by writers from

David to Jeremiah, always means to "drench"; while its adjective "raveh," used three times, and its noun "raveyeh," used twice, have also the same signification. They never refer to the effects of intoxicating wine; they are usually figurative; and in the three cases where a physical ingredient is introduced and where the English translators use the word "drunk," the effect described is that of an aperient or purgative, such as "waters of wormwood" (Deut. xxix. 19; Jer. xlvi. 10; Lam. iii. 15). The Targums, therefore, confirm in every respect the view of "tirosh" to which all authorities compel the Bible scholar.

The collection called the Talmud or "Teaching," includes both the Jerusalem Talmud, written in Palestine, and the Babylon Talmud, written on the Euphrates, styled the Mishna or "text," originating in the second century after Christ, and the Gemara, or "commentaries" appearing in successive centuries down to the seventh after Christ. To these must be added the writings of Rabbis down to the thirteenth century. All these records illustrate precedents in Hebrew history and customs maintained down to the present day, and thus aid in showing the Divine law as to wines.

In the chapter of the Talmud on "Offerings," sweet wine is mentioned. In the chapter on "Vows" it is stated: "If any one has vowed that

he will abstain from wine, then there is permitted to him boiled must in which is the flavor of wine, ... also cider of apples"; indicating that the distinction between intoxicating and unintoxicating beverages from the grape was preserved from the ancient to the later Jewish history. Again, in the chapter on "Vows" it is stated: "If any one has said, 'Let wine be to me an offering because it is injurious to the bowels' (visceribus noxium), and it should be said to him 'old wine is good for the bowels,' then old wine, or wine of any kind, which is injurious to the mind (cordi) is permitted." Here three facts, already established as recognized in the Old Testament writings, are found to be perpetuated in Jewish customs and sentiment. First, the distinction is preserved between old wine and new wine, so-called in the Old and New Testaments. Second, the action of the former on the nervous system and of the latter on the digestive organs has one more confirmation. Third, the peculiar duty of offering as an oblation or token of self-denial the wines which from their intoxicating qualities are injurious to the human system, is that of self-sacrifice on the part of those addicted to their use.

While the ceremonial law is thus illustrated, the principle of the civil law restricting the use of intoxicating wines is unfolded and brought out in

the following allusion found in the "Sanhedrim" (c. viii.), to the Mosaic statute as to the rebellious son" who is said to be "a glutton and a drunkard" (Deut. xxi 18–21). Attention is called by the writer to two facts; first, that the noun "tirosh" has its root in the primitive verb "rash," whence the three nouns, "rash" (with *aleph*), "rish" (with *yod*), and "rosh" (with or without *vav*), are derived; and second, that while the noun "rash" means "head," or leader, the noun "rosh" without *vav* means poor. The Talmudist adds this comment, which, however much of fancy be involved in the rendering of the word, indicates the principle taught by experience to the Hebrews of later days as to the effect of wine-drinking. "By taking a little" even of this wine of the lightest and of unintoxicating character, a young man "may become *rash*, a head or leader"; while "in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, youths who drink wine will become *rosh*," "poor," or good for nothing, in pocket, intellect and religious worth. The careful student will note here, that "tirosh" in the books of Moses, with three exceptions only (Num. xviii. 12; Deut. xxviii. 51; xxxiii. 28), is written without *vav;* that in a single allusion of Jeremiah (xxxi. 12), it is also written without *vav;* while in all the other and later books it has *vav*. There may have been a reason for this, known to Moses as

well as to the later Jewish writers; it seems rather to have been but an earlier and a later method of spelling; but the comment of the Talmudic writers confirms, to say the least, the etymology of "tirosh" given by Fuerst.

An instructive hint is found in three connected comments in the "Hadrash Rabbi" (c. 36), on Noah's fall, on its cause and on its result (Gen. ix. 20–25). In the first place, the Talmudist notes that the verbal connective and prefix "vay," which with the slight guttural *aleph* means "woe," and which without the guttural has substantially the sound of natural wailing—this prefix occurs fourteen, or twice seven times in the brief record. Again, the utter fall of Noah is indicated by the use of the words which designate the highest or most special, and the lowest or most general grade of humanity, in the opening statement: "And Noah, the 'intellectual or the noble' man (ish), became the 'low or earthy' man (adam)"; the word "adam" being rendered in our English version "husbandman," equivalent to laboring man. Yet again, the Talmudist pictures Noah as a second Adam, directly approached, not, as was Adam, through his wife, but by the tempter himself of Eden; and the arch foe is represented as simply coming and watching the patriarch's planting of his vineyard, while he forecasts the result; and

thus soliloquizes: "My boy, I am your partner. Take heed you do not trespass too much on my ground. If you do, I shall surely hurt you. I need not trouble myself any more about you." This historical citation, and the comment on it, indicates that the parallel between Adam's fall and that of Noah has been logically, not fancifully, noted by intelligent students in former ages. The fruit of the "forbidden tree," by whose taste "the knowledge of both good and evil" came to tempted man, is seen alike in the Grecian legend of the steps by which Bacchus was led from unintoxicating "must" to intoxicating "wine"; and it is perpetuated in the temptation of Noah, the second head of the human race. The tyranny, as well as the fascinating seduction of "custom" and "fashion," have perpetuated Eden's temptation.

In the Book of the Talmud on the "Passover" (de Paschate, c. x, sec. 7), occurs this statement: "Between the first and second cups, if he wish, let him drink; but between the third and fourth let him not drink." This historic Hebrew mention of wine-drinking at the Passover is subsequent to the mention made in the histories of Jesus in the New Testament; and it is strikingly in accord with those New Testament allusions. The word wine is not used; but the general term "cup" is employed as in the New Testa-

ment mention as to Christ's last Passover. The only Old Testament mention of the beverage at feasts is, as we have seen, that of Nehemiah (viii. 10); where it is the sweet juice of the grape, which the people are directed to drink. We have seen the unmistakable mention by Christ that the contents of the cup was the fresh "fruit of the vine," both at the Passover and at his appointed supper. With this fact in view, this connected train of facts should be noted.

In the twelfth century, in Spain, Maimonides, and with him Bartenora, eminent Rabbis of their day, make this almost coincident statement: "Wine which is drunk while eating will not inebriate; but after eating it only inebriates." This seeming interpretation of the writers whose statement was made one thousand years before, is proved to be gratuitous and suggested by the perverted custom of the degenerate Middle Ages, by these facts. This same Maimonides in his "Yad Hachazakah," or "Handbook of Help," presents the following views in his "Precepts as to Temper" (c. III. sec. 1–9): "The Nazarite was an extremist in asceticism. But all men should be abstemious; and men of delicate constitution or of ardent temperament should abstain entirely from luxuries as well as from wine." The duty is thus stated: "He that is of a sanguine ('ham' or hot) temperament ought

neither to eat meat nor to drink wine; yea, more, as Solomon said (Prov. xxv. 27), 'To eat much syrup (debsh) is not good'; but he ought rather to drink water with bitter herbs" ('olshim). Maimonides adds: 'His object in all this is to obtain that which is necessary for him, to the end that his mind may be perfect to serve the Lord;" as proof of which Maimonides cites the following: "Solomon has said in his wisdom, 'In all thy ways acknowledge Him' (Prov. iii. 6)." It is impossible to suppose, then, that Maimonides could have taught that at the solemn feast of the Passover men would *honor* the Lord by drinking intoxicating wine to excess, when at any other time they would *dishonor* the Lord if they did not abstain entirely from intoxicating wine. It is manifest that the principle of Maimonides is akin to the Greek and Christian idea found in Paul's Epistle to the Corinthians; a principle which Spanish, *i. e.*, Old Gothic, custom at that age had perverted.

The more important fact to observe is this: that though in different ages and localities intoxicating wine may have been used at the Passover, the prevailing, if not the universal conviction of the Jews has been that if intoxicating wine be used it should be greatly diluted; but that in all cases where it is possible, a wine

made of the fresh juice of the grape, unfermented, or of raisins or dried grapes, should be employed. The case cited by Rev. E. Smith (Bib. Sac. Nov. 1846), is, according to his own statement, an isolated one. Jahn, the eminent Hebrew archæologist, familiar with the numerous communities of Jews who flocked from Catholic Europe as well as from Asia into Germany for protection after the Reformation, gives the following testimony. Quoting from the custom of his day and from the "Sepher al Pesah." Having described (Arch. P. III., c. iii. sec. 354) the drinking of the third "cup of benediction," after which Psalms cxv. to cxviii. are chanted, and then the fourth cup, after which Psalms cxx. to cxxxvii. are sung, this careful writer adds: "The wine is mingled with water." In visits to the synagogues of Cairo, Jerusalem, and other Oriental cities, in inquiries at Washington, D. C., from eminent Rabbis resident in the East as far as Bagdad, and in familiar acquaintance with Rabbis and merchants who are Israelites in New York, the writer has found one universal testimony; that conformity to the law requires abstinence, if possible, from fermented wines at the Passover. In the metropolitan city of the New World where representatives of every Hebrew community and sect are met, the Passover wine is

prepared from crushed raisins or dried grapes, steeped in water, pressed and made into a sweet but unfermented wine.

WINE IN THE LATER GRECIAN AND ROMAN LITERATURE.

The Romans, even under their declining empire, retained their pride as to laws and religion, as to customs and fashions; the majority of the patricians declining to accept of Christianity under Constantine A.D. 306, and maintaining their distinctive character as a people down to the Gothic conquest, A.D. 476. The Greeks likewise lost little of their ancestral spirit after Macedonian Byzantium became Constantinople, the city of Constantine. The slumbering Greek fire continues to flash along the whole chain of Byzantine or later Greek literature down to the fall of Constantinople into the hands of the Turks A.D. 1453.

Lucian, of the second century, has been quoted in the line of authorities in modern discussions as to intoxicating wines. A Greek lawyer, of Antioch, in Syria, philosophic in thought, poetic in sentiment, genial and often humorous in temperament, professing to respect the religious convictions of his ancestors and also the newly introduced Christian faith, his allusions to wine in his famed dialogues are both interesting and

valuable. In his "Nigrinus," or habits of philosophers, he represents one of his speakers as saying that he is "excited by philosophy somewhat as the impulsive Indians," who "rave excessively on undiluted wine" (akratou). In his "Juno and Jupiter," he represents the queen of gods commenting severely on one who "leads the dance" and is "intoxicated," as bringing "reproach on sacred things;" and, referring to what Jupiter had said in praise of Bacchus, she says: "You seem to me to extol his discovery of the vine and of wine." To this Jupiter responds in explanation: "Nothing of this which you affirm; for it is not wine nor Bacchus that occasions these things, but unlimited drinking of undiluted wine." In his "Mercury and Lucina," or the god of eloquence and the guardian of midwifery, Mercury says, that if Lucina is troubled by his excessive drinking she should have "poured water" into the wine-jar. In his "Saturnalia" a priest is warned by the god, that if any one is "gorged with sweet-scented wine (methuskesthai anthosmiou), "this law has been enacted" for him; that "his belly be distended till rent with unfermented wine" (glukous). In his encomium on Demosthenes, Lucian says, that, unlike Æschylus, of whom Callisthenes said that "he wrote his tragedies under the stimulus of wine," "this Demosthenes elaborated (sunepithei) his

reasonings (logous), drinking water" (hydor pinon). No thoughtful reader can fail to see that Lucian sustains the wisdom of the old Greek physicians, moralists, orators and philosophers, who thought nature's stimulus in mental action the only one needed, who warned against intoxicating stimulants in critical disease, who saw the inconsistency of their use in religious devotion, and who sought the antidote in diluted wine, in unfermented wine, or in water drinking.

The principal writer of this age to claim attention, is Athenæus of the third century; a compiler of varied knowledge, regarded by enthusiastic admirers, such as his French translator, a second Pliny. Unlike Pliny, he merely brings together without scientific order scattered statements of numerous Grecian and Roman writers as to various subjects discussed; while Pliny is an independent thinker, analyzing for his readers the facts and literary treasures which he has collected. Hence it is, doubtless, that many modern writers have largely quoted Athenæus as they have Plato and Pliny, without giving any connected view of his real sentiment.

In his "Deipnosophistai," or Banquet of the Sages, some twenty lawyers, physicians, poets, rhetoricians, artists and critics are represented as meeting in the mansion of a rich Roman named Laurentius; at which, among every conceivable

subject commented upon, that of wine-drinking finds, as in all ages among thinking men, a prominent place among practical yet debatable issues.

In his opening citation (B. I. c. 24), Theophrastus is quoted as mentioning a wine of Achaia which caused "miscarriage" in females; and another, which if drank by women, "they have no children." In Thasos, one kind causes sleep, and another the opposite effect. Dion (B. I. c. 25), an academic philosopher, reproaches the Egyptians for being fond of wine, and says: "They make a liquor of barley," under the influence of which "they sing, dance, and act like those overcome with wine." Aristotle is said to have remarked that "those drunk with wine fall on their faces, while those overcome with barley-liquor fall on the back of their head"; and he gives as the reason, that "wine causes frenzy, and barley-liquor is stupefying (karotikos)." To prevent drunkenness, the Egyptians drink a decoction "of cabbage" (krambas). Plato (B. II. c. 1), in Cratylus, to indicate his double idea, suggests that the derivation of *oinos*, wine, is from *oiesis*, conceit, or from *oinesis*, utility. In the table discussion (B. II. c. 2, 3), Mnesitheus, a physician, says: "The gods made men acquainted with wine as a very great good for those who use it with reason, but as very in-

jurious to those who use it with indiscretion." Hence they directed that "Bacchus be invoked as a physician (*iatron*), and as a healer (*hygiaten*)." He adds, that wine brings "cheer when mixed with fitting quantities of water"; that "one-third wine" makes the drinker "impudent," that "one-half" "produces madness," and that "all wine . . . . destroys mind and body." Eubulus represents Bacchus as saying, that at feasts, when "three" glasses of wine are mixed with "nine" glasses of water, making twelve in all, the effects of these glasses, if drunk successively, will be as follows: The first gives "health"; the second stimulates "sensual desire" (eros); the third induces "sleep"; and at these three "wise men" will retire from the banquet and "return home in peace." If they drink on, the fourth awakens "insolence"; the fifth, "uproar"; the sixth, "quarrel"; the seventh, "blows"; the eighth, "reckless injuries"; the ninth, "bitter hatred"; the tenth, "madness, slaughter and death." Panyasis, in yet stronger coloring, paints substantially the same successive pictures of the wine-drinker's progress. Over "the first glass the three graces preside." On the second, which "exhilarates the heart, Bacchus and Venus smile," and they bid the drinker "return home in peace." But, adds the delineator, if their voice be not heeded, "who can tell what excess, waste, wrongs,

insults, conflicts will follow!" Hence the advice: "Be content, my friend, with the two glasses, and return to your home and tender wife"; and he adds, "Then, too, your associates led by your example, will go to their beds with unaching heads."

A fit closing reference of Athenæus as to the law of wine-drinking, is his allusion to the Greek idea of its religious aspect (B. XV. c. 48). "Among the Greeks, those who sacrifice to the sun, make their libations of honey, as they never bring wine to the altars of the gods; they affirming, that it is fitting that the god who keeps the whole universe in order, regulating everything, and always going round and superintending the whole, should in no manner be connected with drunkenness."

This striking statement as to the first day of the week, and the unfitness that intoxicating wine should mar its solemnities, calls attention to the association at this era of old Roman and of early Christian sentiment and practice. At the very time when the scene of this "Banquet of the Sages" is laid by Athenæus, the immemorial custom of the ancients, who divided days into weeks, devoting the first to worship of the sun, the second of the moon, and the remaining five to the then known planets—the immemorial custom of making "Sunday" the first and chief

of the week was revived; and, as many suppose, to offset Christian influence. In his history (xxxvii. 81), Dio Cassius, the Roman historian and senator, states, that this division was derived from the ancient Egyptians, and that a little before his time it was re-introduced by the emperors. He declares that this restoration of Sunday as the day of special devotion, was but a completion of the work begun by Claudius, the fourth emperor; who, perceiving how the work-days of the people were broken in upon by the observance of festivals in honor of generals, among which class of men emperors were supreme, and that wine-drinking and debauchery were thus fostered, issued an Imperial edict restricting the numbers of such festivals (lx. 17). From this time the days of the week were styled "Dies Solis, Lunæ, Martis, Mercurii, Jovis, Veneris, Saturni," names still preserved in the modern languages of Europe; being derived directly from the Latin in the Spanish, the Italian, and the French, and translated into the kindred Saxon names in the German and the English tongues. Since it was one of the convincing appeals of the Christian apologists of this age, that by inheritance, through the Old Testament Scriptures, the believers in Christ then observed the very day on which the sun's light first broke in its full radiance on the earth,

would it not be strange, if Christians, keeping that day from a higher and purer sentiment than Greeks ever knew, as the day when the Spiritual "Sun of Righteousness" arose from the tomb, "with healing" as well as "light" in His beams—would it not be passing strange if followers of the spotless Jesus were behind their Greek ancestry and contemporaries in the light they derived from the New Testament, on the law of wine-drinking? We may well turn to the records they have left, that we may learn their sentiments, directly drawn from the teachings of Christ and His apostles.

WINE IN THE EARLY CHRISTIAN WRITERS BEFORE CONSTANTINE'S REIGN.

In the age between the last of Christ's apostles and that of Constantine, the first Roman emperor who became a Christian, a period extending from about A.D. 102 to 306, there was an influence coming from both philosophic accepters and rejecters of the Christian faith, controlling Christian leaders in their views as to social customs of doubtful moral propriety. Truly spiritual Christians read and followed the inspired apostles as their guides in morals except so far as the influence of education and of association misled them in their interpretation of the example of Christ, and of the statements of His apos-

tles. On the propriety of wine-drinking, however, the secular sentiment, as we have seen in the Hebrew, Grecian and Roman writers just quoted, was specially enlightened.

As a link indicating the connection between Hebrew and Greek, Roman and Asiatic conviction in this age, the Syriac translation of the Old and New Testaments is an important testimony as to the "fruit of the vine."

The Syriac term for the Hebrew "yayin" is "chamro," corresponding to the Hebrew "chemar," the Chaldaic "chamra," and the modern Arabic "chamer." The Hebrew "tirosh" is also usually rendered "chamro" in the Syriac; "chamro," like the Greek "oinos," and the Latin "vinum," being the generic term. The real nature of "tirosh" as unfermented wine appears in the special terms employed when its specific character must be indicated. In Judges ix. 13 and 2 Kings xviii. 32, it is rendered "odsho," fruit; in Isa. xxiv. 7, "eburo," grain or berry; in Isa. lxv 8, "tutitho," grape or cluster; and in Hosea iv. 11, its nature is illustrated by the term "ravyetha." Again, the Hebrew "'asis" is rendered, Song of Sol. viii. 2, by "chalyutho," must or unfermented grape juice; in Isa. xlix. 26, by "meritho," juice of unpressed grapes, the Syriac term cited by Fuerst as of the same root with "tirosh." In the

Syriac New Testament the rendering of the phrase "fruit of the vine" (Luke xxii. 18) is "ildo da gephetho," offspring of the vine; and that of "gleukos" (Acts ii. 13) is "meritho," juice of unpressed grapes. The meaning of the Syriac verb "rawoyutho," whose noun is used in Hosea iv. 11, is "madefactus, inebriatus, satiatus est," he is drenched, inebriated, glutted. This confirms the view taken of the same term in the Hebrew and the Aramaic of the Targums; the idea of "inebriation" being secondary, and but an inference from the seen fact that the drinker is gorged and over-filled with drink. This also illustrates the use of the word "thamriq," used by Jonathan, in his Targum, Prov. iii. 11, for the English "be weary"; evidently designed by him to explain the natural effect of "tirosh"; as has been observed in citing the Targum on Prov. iii. 10. For these Syriac renderings the writer is indebted to Prof. C. H. Toy, D.D., LL.D., the eminent Semitic scholar.

Two important facts are here to be noted: First, the same view of the nature of the Hebrew "tirosh," and of the mode of its preparation, is found among the Syriac interpreters which has been traced in the Greek and Latin translations. Second, the terms illustrating the nature of products of the grape as indicated to

the eye are common to the Semitic and Aryan languages; "chemer" in the Semitic, and "fervere" in the Latin, referring to the effervescence seen in ferment; and "ravyetha" in the Semitic, and "methuo" in the Greek, referring to the excess in the drinker.

Clement of Alexandria is the first to claim especial notice in this age. He presided, from A.D. 191 to 202, over the earliest Christian school established at Alexandria, the seat of Greek learning, made illustrious from the days of the second Ptolemy, whose library had invited the Greek translation of the Hebrew Scriptures nearly five centuries before Clement lived. Trained in a complete knowledge of Egyptian science preserved in hieroglyphics, thoroughly versed in the whole range of Grecian wisdom, and learned in the Old and New Testament Scriptures, Clement has enriched all subsequent ages by his works. Their value was realized when the Greek monks, who in 1828 entertained Champollion, showed him on a single page of Clement the correctness of his system of hieroglyphic interpretation; by the earlier reading of which single page he might have been saved years of exhaustive study. In his treatise on "Education" (Paed. L. II. c. i., ii.), Clement dwells at length on the natural and revealed law as to wines; and surge abstinence on youth. He gives a list of

wines of different kinds; mentioning among them a sweet (edus) Syrian wine. He describes the effects of these different wines on the brain, heart and liver; he says men do not seek wine when really thirsty, but pure water; and he declares: "I admire those who require no other beverage than water, avoiding wine as they do fire. From its use arise excessive desires and licentious conduct. The circulation is accelerated, and the body inflames the soul."

He cites the fact that men who need unimpaired energies, as kings, must be abstemious. Following up these teachings of reason by Scripture references, he glances over the entire Old Testament, Apocryphal and New Testament testimonies. He quotes Prov. xx. 1, as showing that wine is not a fit companion (akolouthos). He cites the wisdom of Seirach (Eccles. xxxi. 22–31), as the summary of worldly wisdom as to wine-drinking. Coming to the New Testament, he challenges those who perverted the New Testament statements as to Christ. Hinting what was the wine He blest, and then citing the special statement of Luke as to the Passover wine, and the words of Matthew and Mark as to the wine of the Lord's Supper, he makes their meaning more specific for his Greek readers. In the words of Mark and Luke, "of the fruit of the vine," (tou gennematos tes ampelou)

and in those of Matthew's fuller statement, "of this fruit of the vine" (toutou tou gennematou tes ampelou), Clement regards Christ as pointing to Himself, as He did in His declaration, "I am the vine;" and in order to bring out Christ's emphatic thought, he quotes as if they were Christ's, this fuller statement, "of the fruit of the vine, even *this*" (tou gennematos tes ampelou, *tes tautes*). To add yet greater force, he asks: "*How* drank He?" thus indicating the wine drunk by the Lord when they said, "behold a gluttonous man and a wine-drinker." His reply implies that it must have been the same "fruit of the vine" used at the supper. Coming to the case of the Corinthians who preceded the Lord's Supper by a common feast, as the supper instituted by Christ was preceded by the Passover, Clement contradicts the suggestion that intoxicating wine was there used. He indicates that it is the *food*, rather than the *drink* of the feast, to which Paul refers, and that he reproves them for "clutching at the delicacies," for "eating beyond the demands of nourishment." He farther intimates that servants brought into the Christian Church, and to the table set for Christian masters, unaccustomed to a common and well-furnished table, would naturally be ignorant of the laws of propriety. That Paul refers to the food rather than intoxicating wine, he thinks

manifest for these several reasons: that women are present, to whom, according to Greek sentiment, wine was prohibited; that unseemly eagerness "in eating" is the fault reproved; and that the contrast made is between those "hungry" and those "surfeited." The main point, therefore, of the apostle, he thinks, was to rebuke the more wealthy contributors to the feast for tempting their weaker brethren to gluttony. While these comments of Clement, living only a century after John had closed his teachings, are, in many respects, interesting and instructive, they are especially confirmatory of the fact that intoxicating wine was not used by Christ, or introduced at the Lord's Supper in the early Church.

Origen, at the head of the same Alexandrian school in the next generation, A.D. 228 to 254, is equally explicit. He asserts that Noah did not, and could not, beforehand, know the intoxicating influence of wine, as is proved by the word "he *began* (ērxato) to be a husbandman." He dwells on the fact that, as in the case of the forbidden tree, only *experience* reveals the fact that "wine takes away the mind." Referring to Rom. xii. 16–18, he says that the Encratites, who abstained from wine, were accustomed to cite the fact that the word wine does not occur in all Paul's instructions to the Corinthians, and that it is only incidentally mentioned in his later epistles.

This allusion of Origen to the Encratites, or "abstinents," calls attention to the fact that in the earliest Christian ages, two tendencies were developed—one, extreme; the other, legitimate—in avoiding the use of intoxicating wine at the ordinance of the Lord's Supper. The statements of Clement show that in Egypt—the lower portion of which, as we have seen, is not a wine-growing country—it was known that neither Christ nor the apostles used intoxicating wine, especially at the Lord's Supper, and that because Palestine was a country furnishing the "fruit of the vine." Hence two resorts, prompted by Christian conviction, grew up in Egypt.

Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, in France, from A.D. 177 to 202, in a country unlike Egypt in wine-culture, opposing many corrupt practices of his time, speaks of the cup of the Lord's Supper as a "mingled cup" (kekrammenon poterion, Haer. L. V. c. 2). This phrase is explained by writers of the following ages. In the spread of Christianity, just after the apostles' day, to Spain, northern Italy, and France, the first of which countries Paul meant to visit (Rom. xv. 24), water was mingled with the wine; and that because wines made of the grapes of the north had more acidity than those of southern regions, and were prepared with less care to prevent alcoholic fermentation; a custom which was but a continuance

of the old Greek sentiment already referred to, and which rules in the Oriental Church to this day.

Justin Martyr, the master-scholar who met the objections to Christian truth urged by learned Jews, and by philosophic Greeks, in his day, martyred at Rome A.D. 165, alludes (Apol. II. p. 97) to ascetic Christian believers who, like the early Hebrews and Egyptian Nazarenes and like the Jewish Nazarenes of their day, abstained from both flesh and wine; successors to those alluded to by the apostle Paul, Rom. xiv. 1–3. These, as Eusebius (Hist. Eccl. vi. 38), quoting from a work of Origen now lost, states, were so strict in abstaining from any product of the grape, that they had come to use water instead of wine at the Lord's Supper. This extreme sentiment growing out of a deep and legitimate, though misguided conviction, beginning at this early day, could not be obliterated from the Christian conscience in succeeding ages. It found expression in the writings often attributed to Justin, but now called "Pseudo-Justin," because acknowledged to have been by another hand, which, however, because kindred in view to his, are still bound up with the works of Justin. This writer, reflecting the sentiment of the second century, says (Epist. ad Zen. et Seren. sect. 12): "Wine is not to be drunk daily as

water. . . . . Water is necessary ; but wine only as a medicine." He shows the absurdity of the plea that wine heats the body in winter and cools it in summer; and says: "It is admitted that wine is a deadly poison" (pharmakon thanasimon). In using it, he adds, "We abuse the work of God."

The wide-spread prevalence of this conscientious abstinence from wine in religious services is indicated in the allusion of Cyprian (Epist. 63, ad Cæcilium, bishop of Carthage, in Africa, A.D. 248, martyred A.D. 258), who mentions some Christians who used water in the morning and wine only at night. He argues in the spirit of his day: "The wine and water can not be received alone; for wine alone, represents Christ without the people, and water the people alone without Christ." These extreme views are legitimate links in a chain of common human conviction. The matching leaves of a volume thus complete in all its parts, must have had a common source.

WINES AT THE ERA OF CONSTANTINE, THE FIRST CHRISTIAN EMPEROR.

Success in military conquest had, under other religions, introduced luxury and moral degeneracy. It was to be seen whether, when Constantine, ruling as the first Christian emperor, from

A.D. 306 to 337, came to power, the monarch leading Christian customs would, like Cyrus, Alexander, and Augustus, fall from his youthful promise, and thus the use of intoxicating beverages pervade the Christian world.

Eusebius, the great historian of the early Church, an intimate friend and adviser of Constantine, a native of Palestine, in his treatise on the preparation of the world for the Gospel (De Prep. Evang.), cites this fact: that the conviction as to intoxicating wine held by Grecian and Roman moralists, specially prepared them to accept the Old and New Testament principle as to abstinence from its use. He quotes the views of Plato in his Republic, the statutes of Carthage, of Crete, and of Lacedæmon, bringing out especially the facts that both custom and express law forbade women and servants, also soldiers while in the army, and magistrates during their term of office, to use intoxicating wine; citing also the reasons urged by observing men in all ages for this abstinence. Tracing, then, the Old Testament principle, he finds the same principle in the special vow of the Nazarites, approved by Moses as already existing (Num. vi. 3), while he made this voluntary pledge of the Nazarite a positive requirement imposed on all the Levites because of the sacredness of their office (Lev. x. 3). He finds the *point* of the New

Testament teaching to be that recognized by Timothy in his instinctive youthful abstinence from all wine, and in his adherence to what he regarded Christ's law so strictly, that it required an apostle's injunction to use but "a little even as a medicine" (1 Tim. v. 23). Certainly, at the era when civil law, for the first time, began to be controlled by New Testament principles, prohibitory legislation and abstinence as a Christian duty lost none of the old Grecian wisdom and Roman virtue when regulations as to wine-drinking passed from the moral conviction of Christian churches to the civil control of Christian communities.

Yet another influence growing out of old Grecian and Roman *religious* sentiment now arose. The ablest Christian apologists, in defending the Christian faith as rational, had appealed to the teachings of Grecian poets and sages, and of Roman poets and statesmen, on questions of religious doctrine and moral practice. Under Constantine, this power of appeal was made most effective. Constantine himself, as Eusebius in his life of Constantine shows, used the arguments of Cicero and appealed to the religious spirit of Virgil. Lactantius, the instructor of Crispus, the elder son of Constantine, in his Divine Institutions (Lib. I. de Relig. Fals.), quotes Virgil, called "Maro, first of our

poets" (Georgics ii. 325, and iv. 231, *et seq.*), as describing the direct and good hand of the Divine Being in Creation and Providence. Many Christian scholars of that and subsequent ages, alluded to Virgil's Pollio, the Fourth Bucolic, as a prophecy of Christ. Artists placed him among the Old Testament prophets, and his verses were quoted as Christian epitaphs in the catacombs. The impartial judgment of modern scholarship decides that Virgil was to the Romans the forerunner of the Gospel to the Gentiles, as was John to the Jews. His Bucolics, or pastorals, present the shepherd's simple faith and life, and his Georgics, or agriculturals, that of the Roman husbandman; as unlike as were the shepherds of Bethlehem to the courtiers of Rome at Jerusalem. His Æneid presents the power of a "religious" hero, recognized by his brother, Hector, as the restorer of his fallen country from its vices, and the founder of the State whose pious laws as to wine Romulus and Numa afterward framed. Virgil's Georgics are all studded with the blessing of the wheat and vine, of the grape (uva), its juice (humorem), and its unfermented wine (mustum), while intoxicating wine has little place. His Fourth Bucolic, "The Pollio," pictures a "Redeemer" to come; in whose time (l. 21–40), the "milk" of the flock and the "ruddy grape" among the hedges will need no labor, and the

"vine endure no pruning-hook." His Fifth Bucolic, fitting successor to the fourth, pictures as the purer worship of his country's rural population (l. 65–71), altars reared to Daphnis and Apollo, the gentle shepherd and the sage in youth; while the offerings at their festivals are "new milk," fresh "olive-oil" and abundant gifts of "Bacchus," whose quality is described in this line: "*Vina novum fundam calathis Arvisia nectar*;" in English paraphase: "I will pour from goblets, fresh-strained sweet grape-juice, equal to the choice Arvisian wines of Chios' isle."

Athanasius, again, the stern theologian who ruled at the Council of Nice, A.D. 325, in his view of the law of wines, agreed with Roman and Christian; like Eusebius, urging entire abstinence from intoxicants as temperance. Alluding to the custom then prevailing among Christians, of abstaining from intoxicating wines, in his appeal to the many men in high position who, after Constantine's conversion, still remained pagans, Athanasius cites as justification of the Christian's scrupulousness as to wines this fact (Orat. ad Gent. I. c. 24): "Some Egyptians, indeed, pour out wine in their libations to their gods, but others only water." Again, urging purity of life in all relations, he cites (De Virg.) Paul's injunction to the Roman Christians (xiv. 1, 23): That he who "doubts as to the influence

of wine-drinking on himself or on others, should abstain from its use;" and he regards this injunction of Paul as necessarily implying the duty of abstinence.

In the latter part of this age, Epiphanius, the ablest writer of that day as a critic in theology, intimates (Haer. 19 to 46), that the success of various ascetic sects, successively appearing from the second to the fourth centuries, is to be ascribed to the strong sentiment opposed to the use of intoxicating wines. Among these were the Ebionites, the Tatians, and the Manichees; who used either syrup and water, milk, or simple water, in observing the Lord's Supper. On account of this peculiarity, the Greek title "Hydroparastatoi," or "Water-band," and the Latin soubriquet "Aquarii," or "Waterers," was applied to them. The conviction which leads to extremes, in this, as in every age, is testimony to a vital truth.

WINE UNDER CHRISTIAN EMPERORS TILL THE DIVISION OF THE WEST AND EAST.

Till the division of the Roman empire, virtually accomplished A.D. 395 under Honorius at Rome and Arcadius at Constantinople, though not fully realized till the fall of Rome before the Goths, A.D. 475, a community of sentiment, de-

spite varied differences, prevailed, which showed itself in testimony against intoxicating wine.

Basil, the recognized head of the ancient as well as modern Greek Church, bishop of Cappadocia, in Asia Minor, A.D. 370 to 379, in commenting on the songs of deliverance "of men redeemed," as was David when he wrote Psalm xxxii. 7, as contrasted with the songs of midnight banqueters, cites this allusion of David as illustrating Christ's spiritual principle in the figure of the "new wine in old bottles;" and he follows it with severe denunciation of those who seek pleasure from the use of intoxicating wine. On Isaiah v. 22, after dwelling on the "woe" that falls on a people when their rulers drink wine, he cites the duty of abstinence taught in Moses' Law for the Nazarites, and in Solomon's counsel, "Look not on the wine." Applying this truth to ministers of the Christian religion, he says: "It is becoming (prepei) that ministers of the New Testament, in like manner, abstain from wine." Going farther, he states this as a fact in Grecian history: "Rulers (hoi dynastai), do not drink wine;" and he adds: "We who are rulers (dynastai) likewise, to the people, should not yield in the least to vice."

Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem A.D. 381 to 386, another light of the Greek Church, urges abstinence from wine on catechumens looking for-

ward to reception into the Christian Church, and referring to Psalm civ. 15, and John ii. 9, he uses this remarkable expression. After stating (Cataches. IX. 9), that God is the author of all *good* things, he says: "Water, indeed, is wine in vines" (To hydor oinos men en ampelois); thus implying that the pure juice of the grape is referred to in Psalm civ. 15, since that pure juice alone is of God's formation; and also directly stating that the wine created from water by Christ at the wedding feast, was the same pure product. On Acts ii. 13, referring to the expression "*gleukous memestomenoi*," (Latin translation, "musto pleni"), Cyril says: "They spoke not sincerely, but ironically (chleuastikōs);" and adding his own spiritual comment, he remarks: "New (neos), indeed, was that wine (oinos); the grace of the new covenant." Alluding again (Cath. IV. 27) to Paul's direction to Timothy (1 Tim. v. 23), he says that the use of "a little wine" is "not to be condemned, if used for infirmity;" but, hinting that this plea is often but a pretence, he adds: "Yet the sick are often to be denied, when they ask the appointed nurse (prokathezomenon)." These specially clear testimonies of Cyril are the more important, because he was one of the ablest scholars of his day, and wrote in the very home of David and of Jesus, on whose words he com-

mented, and only three centuries after the apostles wrote.

Theodoret, one of the purest lights of his own, or of any Christian age, a winning representative of the early Greek Church, commenting on the laws of bodily health, and of moral purity, indicated in the Mosaic statutes, as to diet, in Lev. chap. xi., cites the kindred provisions of the New Testament, found in the teachings of Paul, as to luxuries of the table. He specially urges abstinence from intoxicating wines.

The great Bible student of this and all ages was Jerome; one who has already, in part, been cited. As a representative of the early Church at Rome, yet spending half his life in the land of Jesus and of the first apostles, his translation of the Greek New Testament into Latin became the foundation of the Latin Vulgate; while his voluminous commentaries and epistles are an invaluable treasure in every department of Biblical science. On Hosea ii. 9, he defines *tirosh* as "the fruit of the vintage"; his comment corresponding with his translation already noted. In commenting on Amos ix. 15, he compares the "blood of Christ" to the "red must" flowing into the wine-vat. Upon Matt. ix. 17, he says that new skins (utres), must be used for wine that is to be preserved as "must," because the re-

mains of former ferment attaches to old skins; and he regards this to be the essential point in Christ's comparison; that the soul (anima) in which His truth will be safely deposited, must be entirely renovated and freed from all remains of former corruption, so as to be "polluted with no contagion of former vice." In commenting (Matt. xxvi. 26–29) on Christ's choice of language: "I will not drink henceforth of this *fruit of the vine*," he takes for granted, as understood by all, that "must" is referred to; and he cites as illustrative of the wine at the supper, the fresh grape-juice of Gen. xl. 11, and the "noble vine" of Jer. ii. 21, as indicating the character of the "*vine*," as well as of its product, which is referred to in Christ's words, "I am the vine." On Gal. v. 16–21, among the "lusts of the flesh," Jerome mentions wine-drinking, and urges the duty of abstinence from wines. He says: "In wine is *excess;* as taught in Eph. v. 18, youth should flee wine as they would poison." Alluding to the plea that Christ used wine at the supper, and that Paul recommended the use of wine to Timothy, Jerome says: "Elsewhere, we were made acquainted with both the wine to be consecrated into the blood of Christ and the wine ordered to Timothy that he should drink it." The Latin of Jerome is "Alioquin sciebamus, et in Christi sanguinem vinum consecrari et vinum Timotheo

ut biberet imperatum." Some prefer to make "vinum" the subject of two infinitives rather than the object of "sciebamus;" but the laws of grammatical construction in the use of a subject-accusative, seem to forbid any other rendering than that given. The practical bearing of the statement is not affected, however, by a change of rendering; since Jerome has elsewhere stated what he here seems to refer to; namely, that the wine used at the supper, and as medicine, was the wine without alcohol commended by Roman and Greek physicians. On Eph. v. 18, Jerome alludes to Aristotle's principle that the virtue of temperance hinges on two rules: first, in using food and drink that are in themselves nourishing, temperance is the mean between gluttony and abstemiousness; second, that entire abstinence from all that is injurious is temperance. He says that Paul declares that wine in any quantity, used merely as a beverage, is an "excess." Paul's teaching, he says, is Christ's principle; "Ye can not serve two masters"; "ye can not be filled with the Spirit and with wine." Hence, he argues, "I would say that wine is to be entirely abstained from in youth;" according to the warning of Moses, Deut. xxxii. 32, 33: "Their wine is the poison of dragons," etc. He concludes: "To *this* wine, that is *contrary* which the Lord promises that He will drink

with us in His kingdom." Yet again, in his letter to Eustochius (xxii. 8), Jerome urges the duty of entire abstinence from wine, and replies again to the two objections above referred to. As to the wine that "is consecrated into the blood of Christ," he refers to the statements of Matthew and Luke, that it was the fresh "fruit of the vine." As to the wine ordered by Paul to Timothy, it was as a physician's prescription; "a little," and that "as a medicine." Of the good Samaritan's surgical application he says (Hom. in Luc. xxxiv.): "By the oil the swellings of the wounds were soothed (sedarentur); but by the wine he also cleansed (mundat) the wounds."

That Jerome was not swayed by ascetic tendencies in these comments is indicated by his perfect accord with other eminent men of his day, in their remonstrances against the use, at the Lord's Supper, of any other liquor than wine; commending "wine diluted with water" where the fresh juice of the grape, or preserved unfermented wine could not be obtained. As Ambrose, at Milan, in northern Italy (De Sacram. l. iv.), Chrysostom at Constantinople (Homil. in Matt. 82), and Augustine at Carthage, in Africa (Sermons IX. to CCCLXXII.), representing the most extreme outposts of the Christian Church, all accorded in commending the use of unintoxicating wine at the Lord's Supper, diluting it

when essential to this end, yet never changing the element typical of Christ's blood, so Jerome indicates his balanced conviction on Mark xiv. 24, 25. Having apparently in mind the Latins of the north for whom Mark wrote (as the Latin words used by Mark indicate and all history confirms), Jerome refers to the "wine and water" used in countries where the fresh product of the vine could not be obtained; and he remarks that the water in grape-juice is the emblem of Christian "purification," and the nutritive element of his "salvation." The modern custom of the Jews residing out of Palestine indicates that Jerome here refers to raisin-wine as now made by Jews.

WINES IN THE KORAN, AND IN MUHAMMEDAN HISTORY.

The breaking down of the Roman empire in the West, and the many corruptions of the State Church, prepared the way for the Arabian prophet; while his respect for the Old and New Testament records, as well as some of his own teachings, gave currency to his professed revelations. Yet more; the teachers of Muhammed were his wife's uncle, a learned Jew, and a Greek Christian, who led him especially to the study of Jerome, whose statements as to intoxicating wines we have just considered.

Muhammed's teachings as to wine are illustrative of the purely human origin of his professed revelations; since they show the same early conviction, the same mature purpose amid struggles for power, and the same seduction of fashion and luxury after success, which characterized the careers of Cyrus, and of Alexander. In his first vision (Sura ii.), impressed with the experience of older men, and of earlier ages, he writes: "They will ask thee concerning wine and lots; answer, In both there is great sin, and also things of great use to man; but their sinfulness is greater than their use:" in which the influence of Old Testament precepts is apparent. At a later period, at Medina, after his flight from Mecca, when his followers, gathering from interest and partisan rivalry, were to be disciplined as soldiers (Sura v.), Muhammed thus wrote: "O true believers, surely wine, and lots, and idols, and divination are an abomination of the work of Satan; therefore avoid them that ye may prosper"; a precept which, from its combination of prohibitions, Sale, the learned English translator and commentator on the Koran, traces (Prelim. Disc. c. v.) to Jerome. Finally, amid the luxury of his later life, which led to his disgraceful fifth marriage (Sura xxxiii.), Muhammed shows that his advocacy of abstinence from wine had been only a prudential suggestion, that he might have a well

disciplined and hardy soldiery; for to those who by abstinence fit themselves to "fight valiantly for the true faith," he promises a Paradise furnished with every luxury for the palate; among which is a "wine," manifestly the unintoxicating juice of the grape, since it is mentioned among other simple products of nature. His picture is thus worded (Sura xlvii.): "A description of Paradise which is promised unto the pious; therein are rivers of incorruptible water; rivers of milk, the taste whereof changes not; rivers of wine pleasant unto those who drink; rivers of clarified syrup; and therein with these, all kinds of fruits." Again, at a later day, and in a different mood, as the surrounding associations of his own debauchery, as well as of his increasing luxury and licentiousness alike indicate, Muhammed promises a Paradise of drunken revelry. Set over against the most fearful pictures of hell, we have (Sura lv. and lvi.) these glimpses of Paradise: "They that approach near unto God shall dwell in gardens of delight; reposing on couches adorned with precious stones, whose linings are of silk interwoven with gold thread. There shall attend them beauteous damsels, having large black eyes, whom no man shall have before deflowered, lying on green cushions and beautiful carpets, a reward to the faithful for that which they shall

have wrought. Youth, who shall be in perpetual bloom, shall go round about to attend them, with goblets and beakers, and a tureen of flowing wine. Their heads shall not ache by drinking the same, neither shall their reason by it be disturbed."

It is not surprising that these three phases of Muhammed's life and teaching have had their separate and distinct effect on the three leading nationalities and races brought under the forced sway of Muhammedan military despotism. The Arabian Muhammedans, of the Semitic or true Asiatic type in features, language, and mental cast, in whose native tongue the Koran is written, and from whose ranks the learned class or "men of the book" are chiefly drawn, adhere to the letter of Muhammed's second precept in the day of his own trial and discipline; and they abstain entirely from wine. The Persians, of Aryan stock, in language and mental cast philosophic, artistic, and enterprising, follow generally Muhammed's first and balanced precept; and while using wine, are not, as a people, given to it. The Turks, of Turanian stock, whose language is of a family not yet sufficiently elaborated to be fitted for finished literature, the "men of the sword" may be abstemious from compulsion; but naturally, and from the very spirit of the last teachings of the Koran, they

drink to excess when at ease after conquest; the present reigning family being noted for use of absinthe.

It is especially to be observed that in all ages, the Arabians, as their language attests, have preserved the customs which prevailed among all the great nations bordering on the eastern shore of the Mediterranean, among whose people they have mingled. They have always, like the Egyptians and Hebrews, the Greeks and the Romans, prepared two kinds of wine, intoxicating and unintoxicating. The former class is styled "chamreh" from "chamar," to effervesce or inebriate; inebriation giving effervescence of spirits. The latter class, called "sherbets" from "sherab," to drink, are unfermented. The distinct character of these two wines in Arabian history and literature, can be traced by the aid of Freytag's Arabic Lexicon, in which both are rendered by the Latin term "vinum." Their modern acceptation in the spoken language, may be seen in the pocket vocabularies published at Paris for French settlers in Algiers; in which both "chamreh" and "sherbet" are rendered "vin." Though the sherbets drunk in western Asia, especially at Constantinople, the Turkish capital, are made of syrups expressed and decocted from the juices of varied fruits, the original and the present rural "sherbet," in vine-

growing regions of the Levant, is the old Latin *must* and Greek *gleukos*, or unfermented grape-juice.

WINE IN THE MEDIÆVAL ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.

The acceptance by Muhammed of most of the leading facts, doctrines, and precepts of the New Testament, in part as a support to his own claims, exerted a double influence on the Christian world, over so large a portion of which his military power extended. It also pointed out errors of Christian interpretation and consequent departures from Gospel faith and practice; making the study of Christian doctrine and precept in this age especially instructive, since it led to that more comprehensive scholarship which was developed under Alfred, of England, and Charlemagne, of France. The increased ecclesiastical authority of Roman bishops, who claimed patriarchal sway as popes, or supreme fathers, to which, under Pepin and Charlemagne, was added acknowleged supremacy in matters of religious doctrine and duty, stimulated in Italy the same spirit of inquiry that had found a new life north of the Alps. As in all ages of advanced culture, the study of wines in their influence on health and morals had its place. This can be traced in several lines of inquiry.

The prevalence of the Arabic language after the Muhammedan conquests, the high place the New Testament history had been made to take in the third and following "Sura" of the Koran, and the scholarly conflict of the two systems of religion, led to the preparation, in Spain, about the middle of the eighth century, of a finished translation of the Old and New Testaments into the language of the Koran. The term by which the Hebrew *tirosh* is translated is *'etsîr*, from the verb *'etsar;* whose three consonants are "ain, sad, ra." The first and fundamental definition of this verb in Freytag's Lexicon is "pressit (uvas), expressit (succum)"; he presses (grapes understood), he presses out (juice). The definition of the noun is "succus expressus," juice pressed out; a definition confirming the entire list of Hebrew and Rabbinic, of Greek and Latin authorities thus far cited. In the New Testament the words "new wine," in Mark ii. 22 and parallel passages, is rendered "el-chamer el-jedîd," or "wine newly prepared;" Freytag's rendering of "el-jedid" being "novus et hinc . . . . noviter confectus," new, and hence newly made. In John ii. 10, the words "good wine" are rendered "el-chamer el-jîd"; "el-jîd," indicating that which is "new" in excellence of preservation; the verb having as a leading meaning "cepit novum, renovavit," he takes as new, he re-

news. The rendering of "the fruit of the vine,' used at the close of the Passover feast (Luke xxii. 18), is "themer el-kerim," "fructus uvæ" in Freytag, or "fruit of the grape." The rendering of the kindred expression of Christ as to the cup at the supper, is made yet more definite by the words "'etsir el-keremeh," "the expressed juice of the generous grape." In the mocking expression in Acts ii. 13, whose derisive character is indicated clearly in the Arabic, the word for new wine is "selafeh"; which Freytag thus defines: "succus primus, qui ex uvis nondum pressis, fluit; *inde*, vinum optimum," the first juice which flows from the grapes not yet pressed; *hence*, the best wine. The entire correspondence of this view of the eighth century with the descriptions of the Roman Cato, Columella and Pliny as to the selection of grape-juice for the best preserved must or unfermented wine, is perfectly apparent. The character of the wine commended to Arabic Christians as that selected by Christ for the supper, is equally apparent. Indirectly, and therefore the more satisfactorily, the expression "best wine" as that made from water by Christ (John ii. 10), is demonstrated.

As above intimated, this translation, designed to be true, and to commend the truth to the then dominant Arabian intellect, is indicative of a spirit prevailing throughout the Roman Church

for centuries. Bersalibi, an Arabian Christian, in an Arabian tract on the Eucharist, says: "When good wine" (referring to the Arabic version) "is not to be obtained, the juice of grapes may be taken; or the liquor expressed from dried grapes or raisins." At this age, also, when the effort to make the ordinances adapted to all climes became a Christian necessity, permission by papal authority was given, to use not only grape-juice, when unfermented wine could not be obtained, but also syrup of other fruits, and even milk. When, at a later period, the cup was withheld from the laity, its propriety, among other things, was based on the danger, which even Augustine had admitted, that it might be a temptation in case of men "given to wine" (vinolentorum). In meeting also the "heretics," or "separatists" from the Catholic Church, who would substitute some other liquor for wine at the supper, the language of Jerome, and of the Latin Vulgate as to the nature of the wine used by Christ at the supper, was recalled and restated. In later controversies with the Greek Church, in which wine greatly diluted was used, the same truth was recalled in defence. The full development of this Mediæval Roman Church history, may be traced in Bingham's exhaustive "Origines Ecclesiasticæ" (B. XV. c. ii), London, 1810.

Another phase of the same fundamental truth came up in the decrees of councils and decisions of popes as to monks, who were regarded as the guardians of the intellectual life of the Church, but whose scholarship and high moral aim led them to the abstinence of the Hebrew Nazarites; an abstemiousness which often led to scruples as to the use of any fruit of the vine, even at the Lord's Supper. Any one disposed to an exhaustive study in this line, can trace it in the numerous folios of the "Acta Sanctorum," or "Acts of Saints," compiled by the Jesuit Bollandus, and published at Antwerp, A.D. 1643.

The late period to which this discussion was extended, as well as the results to which it in every age led, is finally indicated in the writings of Thomas Aquinas, the so-styled "Angelical Doctor," the eminent Italian Dominican of the thirteenth century. His masterly comprehensiveness in research, shown in his "Summa Theologica," has a present interest, because it is commended as authoritative in questions of modern philosophy by Pope Leo XIII. in his Encyclical Address to the nations of Catholic Europe, and of the world, issued Aug., 1879.

The essential question as to the wine to be used in the Lord's Supper, is indicated by the title of his tract (B. IV. Quæst. 74), "Utrum mustum in Sacramentis"; Whether must should

be used in the Sacraments. Having personally adopted the philosophy of the Grecian Aristotle as the highest wisdom and law, having as a popular preacher at Paris, north of the Alps, become familiar with the practical difficulty in obtaining wine for the Lord's Supper that was in all respects appropriate, and being then called to Rome as special counsellor, A.D. 1261, by Pope Urban IV., under whom the present belief and practice of the Roman Church as to the wine in the cup took permanent form, the Angelical Doctor sought to harmonize the necessity of the law of nature with the authoritative decisions of the Pontiff. He recurs to the decree (decretum) of "Pope Julius I.," as he styles him, Bishop at Rome A.D. 337 to 352, issued when, just after Constantine's reign, the spread of Christianity to remote regions called for a liberal, yet consistent interpretation of the "fruit of the vine" required for the Lord's Supper. He says that Christ used fresh "wine of the vine" (vinum vitis); he urges that "true wine can be carried to those countries where there are no vines; as much as is sufficient for this sacrament." He thinks that vinegar proper, should not be employed, "because wine is made vinegar through corruption." He says, however: "Nevertheless it (true wine) can be made (confici) of wine when turning acid (de vino acescente), as also (the wafer, or unleav-

ened bread of the supper) of the bread which is on the way to corruption." Alluding to wine of wild-grapes (agreste), he says that the wild-grape, always acid, is "in the way of development" (generationis), "and hence is not, in that state, fitted for the sacramental service." Referring to fresh grape-juice (mustum), he says: "Must has already the nature (speciem) of wine. Therefore this sacrament can be performed (confici) with must. But whole grapes (uvæ integræ)" *i. e.*, the glutinous or fermenting pulp united with the saccharine juice, "should not be mixed for this sacrament, since there would be something else in it than the wine. It is forbidden, also, that must just pressed out be offered in the chalice; for this is unfitting (indecens), because of the impurity of fresh grape-juice (mustum). Nevertheless, in necessity, this may be done; for it is said by the same Pope, Julius, that if it should be necessary, the grape cluster may be pressed into the chalice." How manifestly Julius of the fourth century, and Aquinas in the fifteenth, are bearing testimony to the real nature of the "fruit of the vine" used by Christ. Aquinas is equally elaborate in treating of the use of diluted wine, as distinct from simple water in the cup.

WINE IN THE GREEK AND ORIENTAL CHURCHES.

As already intimated, in the Churches of the Eastern clime, the home of Jesus, and among Christians to whom the Greek of the New Testament was vernacular, there was, from the first, an impression that when unfermented wine was not to be obtained, the cup at the Lord's Supper should be of wine diluted with water. How far this may have been an impression derived from ancestral tradition, or from the abstinence of athletes and of sages, it is impossible, perhaps, to decide; as also, it may be of little moment. The universal conviction, however, which has prevailed at all ages in the Greek Church, and which controls its present practice, is of value to those who wish to reach the truth, and to secure the grace which is dependent on that attainment.

That the t aditional opinions of their ancestry as to the use of wine in social convivialities and in religious observances, permanently influenced the Greek mind, is indicated by the selections from Greek poets as to the effects of wine preserved in Anthologies. Of these, no less than five collections were successively made by native Greeks; namely, in the first, second, third and fourth centuries by Greeks some of whom were not yet Christians, and finally in the tenth and

fourteenth centuries by Christian Greeks. Of these only the two latter are known to be in existence, those of Cephalas and of Planudes. The quotations from these Anthologies made by such modern writers as Wilson, reveal partial truths which require the connections of history to show their real lesson.

Many of the writers whose preserved fragments are collected by Planudes, refer to the diluting of wines drunk at social banquets, the citations being kindred to those made by Athenæus. One writer, for instance, advises: "Water your wine" to secure "moderation," since, if too strong, it produces either "grief or madness," *i. e.*, dejection or exhilaration. It would be a needless repetition to quote at length kindred utterances. The fact is significant that these utterances are republished by a native Greek who, as an intelligent and earnest Christian worker at Constantinople, a century before its fall, also republished "Æsop's Fables" because their moral lessons were needed by Christian Greeks.

The early Christian Fathers, already cited, who lived on the Asiatic and African border of the Mediterranean Sea, the region brought afterward into the field of the Eastern or Greek Church, had been, from their location, best instructed, and therefore most emphatic in their opposition to intoxicating wines. Cyprian,

bishop of Carthage, Africa, from A.D. 248 to 258, argued at length (Epist. 63 ad. Cæcilium), for the use of wine diluted largely with water at the Lord's Supper. Bingham (Orig. Eccles. B. xv. c. ii.) cites the canons enacted at Carthage, and in Africa, specially the third at Carthage (Conc. Carthag. III. can. 24), at which Augustine was present, (also Conc. Afric. can. 4), as presenting these facts. The bread and wine for the great communion at Easter was prepared from the fresh products brought by the agricultural people then gathered. The law required that these offerings should be of unground wheat and unpressed grapes (de uvis et frumentis); of these the bread and wine were to be prepared; and, of course, the cup was furnished with unfermented grape-juice, as the bread was of unleavened flour. For the supper at intervening seasons of the year, and in all locations, the canon of the Council at Carthage prescribed: "That in sacraments of the body and blood of the Lord, nothing else be offered but what the Lord commanded; that is, bread and wine mixed with water" (vinum aqua mixtum).

Basil and Theodoret, already quoted as leaders in the Greek Church before its separation from the Western or Roman, were specially clear and emphatic in their statements as to wine in social and religious uses. Photius,

again, one of the leaders at the division of the two churches, from A.D. 858 to 886, is equally suggestive. His comments on the New Testament are the more important from the fact that the original Greek was native to him. On Mat. ix. 17, after giving the statements that the "new wine" is wine yet unfermented, and which should always be so kept, Photius illustrates the natural law by which Christ indirectly taught the spiritual purity of His doctrine as follows: That the old wine represented the law (nomos), the new wine the gospel (evaggelion); and the point of Christ's lesson is, that the new wine must be kept in new bottles; intimating that the Gospel rule as to natural wine is kindred to the Gospel rule as to spiritual truth; or that a pure spirit must have a pure body as its earthly abode.

As already noted in all the long controversy between the Roman and Greek Churches, which ended in their separation, the Greek writers contended for the use of unfermented, or greatly diluted wines at the Sacrament. Hence Photius commended the Severians; of whom he says: "They were averse to wine as the cause of drunkenness." Yet more, the Greek Church were specially scrupulous in avoiding the use of intoxicating wine at the eucharist, for two reasons; first, they insisted that the

cup should be given to the laity, and opposed the Roman Church for withholding it; and second, they maintained that the cup should also be administered to infants. Hence, to this day, in every branch of the Oriental Church, including the Greek and the Russian Churches, the wine used at the supper is diluted largely with water. In the case of infants, directly after baptism, the priest administers the two elements of the supper together; placing a minute bread-crumb in a spoon, touching it to the wine till it is saturated, and then putting the wine-saturated crumb into the child's mouth. The custom of thus administering both elements together, to adults as well as children, seems to have grown out of the desire to limit to a few drops the amount of wine received; and so to prevent the possibility of any intoxicating effect arising from the sacred ordinance.

The testimonies of travelers in the African branches of the Oriental Church are uniform as to this fact. In Abyssinia, Egypt, and Ethiopia, where Christianity was planted in the apostles' time, where the first Christian schools grew up, and where to this day its principles have withstood all the corruptions both of heathen idolatry and of Muhammedan intolerance, the literal "fruit of the vine" is used in the Lord's Supper. In regions where the grape is not found,

dried grapes, that is, raisins, brought from afar, are chopped, soaked in water, and pressed; and the sweet grape-juice thus obtained is used in the sacred rite. It is an echo, heard yet from Central Africa, of the voice of the primitive days, when the first Ethiopian convert returned riding in his chariot from Jerusalem; whose unmistakable testimony as to the wine which Christ consecrated has thus been perpetuated.

WINES AMONG THE EARLY REFORMERS.

A marked feature of the Reformation was the preparation of Bible translations in the modern tongues of Europe; which, like the Latin translations of the earlier centuries, were designed to give to the people of every language the Scriptures in their own tongue. These translations are the unmistakable index to the views of that age, and of many lands in that age, as to the wine consecrated by Christ.

In Luther's translation the Hebrew *tirosh* is rendered in Gen. xxvii. 28, 31 "wein;" but after this, as Num. xviii. 22, and onward in the history, as Judges ix. 13, and also in Isa. xxiv. 7; lxv. 8, and other passages where the connection seemed to compel, it is rendered "most." Here is a clear recognition that the Hebrew *tirosh* was a "wine;" and, at the same time, but an "unfermented wine." This trans-

lation is especially noteworthy as occurring in Hosea iv. 11. The use of the word "most" in this passage by Luther, aided as he was by the best scholarship of his time, is an index to the fact that the German, like the English translators, did not regard as inconsistent the view heretofore taken of the Greek term *methusma*, and of its root *methe*.

In the New Testament allusion to "new wine in old bottles" (Mat. ix. 17, and Luke v. 37), Luther also uses the word "most" for new wine. The word *gleukos*, in the English expression, Acts ii. 13, "full of new wine," is rendered by Luther "voll sussen weins." The expression of Christ as to the wine of the Passover and of the Supper (Luke xxii. 18; Mat. xxvi. 29), is rendered "gewachse des weinstocks;" "or product of the winestock" or vine.

In his religious writings, Luther was as earnest as any modern advocate for abstinence as temperance. Opposing the German habit of beer-drinking, in his rough form of statement he said, that the German people were possessed by the "sauf-teufel" or tippling-devil. Had the spirit of Luther prevailed, and the plain teaching of German lexicographers been pondered, the "unfermented wine," which he saw in the cup of both the ancient Jewish and the primitive Church, would now be sought both in social entertain-

ments and in religious ordinances. For, here it must be recalled, that Luther had the exhaustive scholarship of men like Castell, in his Heptaglott Lexicon, and of Cocceius to sustain him, as had also the modern German Hebrew lexicographers, Leopold and Fuerst.

Amid the same scholarship the Spanish Reformer, De Reyna, performed his high mission; catching the same new light to guide him in his Spanish translation published A.D. 1569. The Hebrew "tirosh" De Reyna renders by the Spanish "vino" where specificness is not required; as in Neh. x. 39 and xiii. 5, 12; Isa. xxiv. 7; Hag. i. 11; Zech. ix. 17; thus showing that he regarded it as true wine; but he renders it "mosto," or unfermented grape-juice, Judg. ix. 13; Isa. lxv. 8; Joel i. 10; Micah vi. 15. Yet more, in Hosea iv. 11, he renders "tirosh" by "mosto;" and, most instructive of all, in Gen. xxvii. 28, 37, he has both "vino" and "mosto." Again, in the New Testament, De Reyna translates the words, Matt. xxvi. 29, and Luke xxii. 18, by "fruto de vid," and "gleukos" in Acts ii. 13, by "mosto"; a fact which reveals, again, the prevailing conviction, as well as the scholarship of the Reformers.

In the Italian of Diodati the "fruit of the vine" is rendered "frutto della vigna," and the "gleukos" or "new wine," is rendered "vin dolce."

In the French translation of the Abbé de Sacy, of the Roman Church, the rendering of "fruit of the vine" is "fruit de la vigne"; and that of new wine" is "vin doux." In the Spanish of De San Miguel, also of the Roman Church, the words for "fruit of the vine" are "fruto de vid." The new wine or *gleukos* of Acts ii. 13, in this Spanish translation is "mosto."

These several translations made at the same era, two by adherents of the Roman Church and two by its opposers, are a remarkably significant testimony to the view which prevailed among all Christian scholars at that era of the special revival of thorough study of the inspired originals of the Old and New Testaments. They confirm at every point the fact that the Hebrews had a wine which was virtually "must" or unfermented grape-juice; that this was known in different lands where the Gospel ordinances were observed, from the apostles' day down to the Reformation. They show farther, that the testimony of modern scholarship as to the wines of the Bible, have been reached through a history whose uniform facts are the foundation of an absolute and scientific demonstration.

The history drawn from English translations, inasmuch as it extends back to an earlier era and embodies the revisions of many generations, is yet more decisive. The principal English

versions of the Bible are those of Wickliffe, A.D. 1360; Tyndale, 1532: Coverdale, 1535; Matthews, 1537; Taverner, 1539; Cranmer, 1540; the Genevan, 1560; the Bishops', 1568; and that of James I., 1611. Of these nine versions, the first, that of Wickliffe, was made about 172 years prior to any other; and it remained unprinted in several manuscript copies until published late in the present century. Wickliffe generally renders "tirosh" by wyne; but in Neh. x. 37 and Isa. xxiv. 7, he uses "vindage," and in Isa. lxv. 8 "grapes." For "gleukos," Acts ii. 13, he has "must." In 1 Cor. xi. 21, he has "drunken," which some of his copyists explain by "confounden" and "schamen," from v. 22. The next five were associated in translation, more or less directly. Tyndale has "new wyne" in Acts ii. 13; Coverdale has "swete wyne" Jud. ix. 13 and Acts ii. 13, and in Isa. lxv. 8, "holy grapes." Matthews has "holy grapes," *i. e.* whole or unpressed, Isa. lxv. 8; and "new wyne" Acts ii. 13, as have also Taverner and Cranmer The Genevan, prepared under the guidance of Swiss scholarship, for the first time follows the Hebrew in Hosea iv. 11, rendering "tirosh" new wine, whereas, former versions from Wickliffe to Cranmer follow the Greek and Latin version rendering it "drunkennesse." The Bishops' Bible, prepared in England, but with new influence

from continental scholarship, has "new wine" in Isa. lxv. 8, Hosea iv. 11, and Acts ii. 13. The version of King James renders "tirosh" by "new wine," Neh. x. 39; xiii. 5, 12; Prov. iii. 10; Isa. xxiv. 7; lxv. 8; Hosea iv. 11; ix. 2; Joel i. 10; Hag. i. 10; Zech. ix. 17; and by "sweet wine," Micah vi. 15; while "gleukos," Acts ii. 13, is rendered "sweet wine." These renderings recognized the permanent conviction that the Hebrew "tirosh" and the Greek "gleukos" were wines, and yet unfermented grape-juice.

It should be added here that Walton's Polyglott, published at London, 1657, in the interlinear translation of the Hebrew, has the Latin "mustum" for "tirosh." The master-work of Poole, in his "Synopsis Criticorum," published in 1673, is in accord; "tirosh" being rendered "mustum" even in Hosea iv. 11.

That the same questions now discussed, as to the nature of the wines referred to in the Old and New Testaments, and as to the effects of wines, were made a thorough study by the leading Reformers is indicated frequently in other records than their Old and New Testament translations. The comments of Cocceius (on John ii. 10), already quoted, are but specimens of critical notes on Old and New Testament wines. Those comments show that not only the "tirosh" of the Old Testament, but also the wine

made by Christ at the wedding, and the wine of the Passover and of the Lord's Supper were, by the scholarship of the Reformers, declared to be the Latin "mustum," the German "most," the English "new" or unfermented wine.

WINE FOR THE SUPPER IN REMOTE MISSION FIELDS.

The extension of Christianity to remote regions, in some of which the vine is not known, and where, moreover, wine is not furnished by importation, has revived in our day the same practical question which arose at different ages in both the Eastern and Western Churches; a question that in all ages has been met by the practical good sense which Christian men of clear intelligence will always exhibit. Reason finds that three facts have conspired to relieve the difficulty some have conceived might arise from the impossibility of always obtaining the 'fruit of the vine" for use at the Lord's Supper.

First.—The difficulty is the less when it is understood that it was the simple "fruit of the vine," not a carefully prepared artificial wine, requiring length of days and skillful arrest of fermentation at a certain stage, which was to serve as the element employed by Christ. The dried grape can be carried to any region, and from it, as now by all American Israelites at their Pass-

over, the "fruit of the vine," substantially that used by Christ at both the Passover and the Supper, can be supplied. This, as we have seen, has often been sanctioned in former ages of the Church.

Second.—"The fruit of the vine" was specially employed by Christ without question, because the grape was the common fruit of the land of His abode. Hence, in the Roman and Greek Churches, it has been decided by men of the highest wisdom and piety—men who had reached that eminence because of superior intellectual and moral worth—that in the case of emergency, where the product of the vine could not be obtained, the juice of any other fruit, as that of the apple, is within the direct scope of the Divine requirement. Indeed, by order of Roman pontiffs, it has been allowed that where the fruit of the vine can not be obtained, even milk which, indirectly, is the product of vegetable juices, may be employed. Distinction has, at the same time, been always made between the occasional "necessity" which "knows no law" and the extreme view of ascetics, that at any location, and under any circumstances, any other liquor than wine meets the requirements of Christ's appointed ordinance. A long succession of cases in point could be cited to illustrate this familiar occurrence in Christian history.

Any one disposed to trace this entire history, may find the materials in the citations of Bingham (Orig. Eccles.), of Bolandus (Act. Sanct.), and in the references found in the Notes of Giesler (Eccles. Hist.) to original documents. The very prohibitions found in the reported canons of such Councils as those of Braga, and of Auxerre, show that the use of milk, of syrup and water, etc., had, in necessity, been temporarily allowed; and that the decisions of Councils only required a return to the use of "the fruit of the vine" when it could be obtained. The cases often occurring in the work of modern American and English missionaries in Asia and Africa, are in the line of this succession.

Third.—The spread of modern missions, in which all the appliances of translating, printing and distributing the inspired scriptures have been employed, has always *followed*, rather than preceded the openings made by commercial intercourse. Hence the necessity for resort to the use of anything else than the fruit of the vine, easily and almost everywhere provided by the importation of the dried fruit, has been obviated. More than this. Few countries have been found, so numerous are the varieties of the grape, and so hardy are many of those varieties, where the grape-vine has not been

found, or where it has not been early introduced by immigrants.

The history of America is in point. In its earliest colonies, the fruit of the vine, either in imported wines or raisins, was seldom wanting; in the rare exceptions which required it, religious wisdom found a ready substitute; while very soon the native and imported grape became an abundant product. Any careful student of the successive authorities above cited, if he has not been himself an independent explorer in the folios of universal Christian literature, will see how in every age the Christian Church has been called to record like experiences occurring in remote regions where Christians have been called to observe the Lord's Supper without wine.

AMERICAN STUDY OF BIBLE WINES.

It was natural that reform and a return to early Roman and Christian views as to the evils of intoxicating drinks, and to efforts for their arrest, should begin in the United States of America. Those evils were perpetuated, not from intelligent purpose, but from the blinding and enslaving influence of custom or fashion.

The American people, in beginning their new national existence, had been compelled to re

solve back Society into its primitive simplicity of life. Hence, in organizing new communities and Churches, they were led to seek for "the laws of nature," not of mere custom, in framing their political constitutions and civil laws, and in forming their social, moral and religious convictions and customs. Just so far, therefore, as the drinking of beverages, more or less intoxicating, has been pressed on their consideration as an evil, they have been prepared to examine and act upon the issue; no thralldom of custom shackling their free purpose. Old Roman virtue and primitive Christian purity, found ready audience, when they rose again, in a new land to utter their voices.

During the last fifty years, from the time of the awakening of thought first in America, and then in England, to temperance reform, a large class of writers have been called out on different departments of the general subject of intoxicating drinks; that of Bible Wines becoming prominent. As was to be expected, different views have been expressed; and that for three reasons.

When any change in popular customs is proposed, the suggestion for reform implies, first, that the common opinion is erroneous; second, that interests involved are imperiled; and, third, that conduct before unchallenged is cen-

sured. This three-fold difficulty is to be met and overcome; pride of intellectual oversight; sacrifice of personal interest; and admission of faults in practice. It is easy to make, in general, the admission that no mind can have taken in the whole field of truth; that no man is wholly free from the promptings of self-interest; and that no human being was ever perfect in life. It is hard, however, to bring one's self up to the point where without prejudice, selfishness or preference, the rule of newly-discovered truth, duty and Christian humility can be made dominant. If this be hard to attain in minds specially thoughtful and conscientious, it is yet harder to bring a community, or an age, up to the full spirit of reform. There has never been a great reform in social habits, in politics, in morals, or in religion, that has not required many generations to make the new view and new life thorough and pervasive.

In the very opening of the American Temperance reform, such men as the practical Dr. Eliphalet Nott, President of Union College, Schenectady, N Y., and Prof. Moses Stuart, of Andover Theological Seminary, Massachusetts, took their stand as scholars with the reformers. Dr. Nott in his "Lectures on Bible Temperance," led the way in tracing the history of opinions as to intoxicating liquors; while

Prof. Stuart started inquiries as to Biblical interpretation which have prompted and guided subsequent inquiries. Taking but a limited range into his survey, Stuart affirms as his "final conclusion," that, whenever the Scriptures commend directly or indirectly the use of wine it is "only such wine as contained no alcohol, that could have a mischievous tendency;" that to suppose the contrary intimates that God's "word and works are at variance;" while, moreover, "facts show that the ancients not only preserved wine unfermented, but regarded it as of a higher flavor and finer quality than fermented wine."

A new stage in the progress of the American reform began about 1840. Many Biblical scholars, especially those educated in Germany, began to dissent from the views advocated by Dr. Nott, Prof. Stuart and their companions; and the following causes prompted this dissent: First, many good men became severe in condemning Christian teachers and church-members who did not accord with their views, or rather with the reasoning by which they maintained them. Second, special assaults were made by earnest Temperance advocates on the Christian Church; many of whose ministers maintained that the teaching of the Old Testament and the example of Christ, favored the

use of wines. Third, not only the habits, but the scholarship of Germany, the resort of advanced American philologists, were indirectly opposed to the American reform; and many, whose education or studies in Bible literature were drawn from Germany, both by precept and example dissented from the leaders in that reform.

Prompted by this spirit of sincere opposition, Missionaries of the American Board in the East were called on to make investigations and specially report on the wines of the East. Chief, and first among these reporters, was Rev. Eli Smith, who in 1837–8 had accompanied Dr. Robinson in his explorations; who, in an article published in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for November, 1846, gave the result of his inquiries. Among others he makes the following statements. As to the field of his inquiry, he says: "My information is derived from seven districts of Mount Lebanon, extending from Tripoli to Sidon." As to the artificial products of the grape met, he mentions three; first, simple fermented grape-juice; second, juice boiled before fermentation; third, sweet wine from grapes partially dried in the sun before pressing. No custom of purifying the juice, by straining or arresting fermentation, was found "practiced by natives." Of the wine used by Jews of Pales-

tine, in the Passover week, he makes this single note: "In 1835, I called on the Chief Rabbi of the Spanish Jews in Hebron, during the feast, and was treated with unleavened bread and wine." When asked how this was consistent with abstinence from all ferment, the Rabbi replied that "the vinous ferment had passed, and no sign of acetous ferment had appeared; otherwise it would be rejected." From Roman and Greek priests, inquired of as to the wine used in their Sacraments, Mr. Smith heard the common statement that "unfermented wine would not answer; nor wine if acetous fermentation be commenced." In general, he says: "I have not been able to hear of unintoxicating, or unfermented wines."

Every thoughtful reader must believe Rev. Mr. Smith a sincere reporter; but he will note these facts. He was, as when he accompanied Dr. Robinson, an observer, but not a scholar; for the customs of the simple "natives" of Mt. Lebanon are entirely unlike those of the cultured Jews, Greeks and Romans, who supplied products of the grape in Christ's day. Again, the field explored is as different from Southern Palestine, in its wines, as are the Rhine lands from Southern Italy. At the single passover feast observed at Jerusalem, Mr. Smith's natural conviction suggested that fermented wine

was opposed to the Mosaic Law; it was a Spanish Jew who was acting in violation, as he reasonably supposed, of that law; and as we have abundantly seen in the history cited, a Spanish Jew in Hebron, and Roman and Greek priests in Palestine, are certainly not representatives of the great nationalities whose history and present customs we have traced. Yet, more; the Jewish Rabbi contended that the wine he drank was *without ferment*, because one stage had passed and the other was not begun; and the Greek priests presented the same view. It was then unfermented wine, which Jew and Greek sought for their sacred rites; and, the question whether they mistook in seeking such wine is the point at issue.

The extremely limited survey, aside from the want of historic comparison, and especially the lack of logical reasoning in this report of Rev. Mr. Smith, is seen in the report of the second witness called to confirm the conclusions sought. In an article on "Produce of Vineyards in the East," furnished for the *Bibliotheca Sacra* of May, 1848, Rev. Henry Homes, Missionary at Constantinople, reports no less than *twelve* artificial products of the grape found in the vicinity of Constantinople; in place of the "three" reported by Rev. Mr. Smith from the "natives of Mt. Lebanon." Among these

twelve, three may be noted as specimens. The fifth is "preserves made with fresh grape juice;" in whose preparation, Mr. Homes says, the manufacturers "check the tendency to ferment by throwing in calcareous earths;" a statement, certainly recalling Pliny's notes gathered from this and other regions. The ninth is "boiled must reduced to one-fourth its bulk" by a boiling for "four or five hours." Of the beverage thus obtained, called "nardenk," Mr. Homes, says: "It ordinarily has not a particle of intoxicating quality;" to which he adds, "if not sufficiently boiled it may ferment." Here, again, is met both the "must" and the "boiled wines" of Grecian and Roman history. Though a young man, with limited study of authorities, Mr. Homes remarks of this beverage: "It seems to correspond with the recipes and description of certain drinks included by some of the ancients among wines." The twelfth is, "Raisin-drink;" prepared as a "domestic drink," and used in large quantities, obtained by boiling the raisins, or dried grapes, for two or three hours; called by the Turks, "sherbet."

No one can read Mr. Homes' statement after the historic survey above presented, without remarking: First, the conclusions of any observer ought to be, and will, by scientific readers,

be limited to that observer's range of investigation; and that, whether his observations be personal, on the field, or collective, *i.e.*, derived from all historic fields. Second, no comprehensive and demonstrative conclusion is attainable except by harmonizing the valuable observations of all sincere and intelligent men gathered from every field and from every age. All unconsciously, Mr. Homes' statements are in entire harmony with all history.

Another era began when American youth in college, statesmen in halls of legislation, officers in the army, and even esteemed clergymen, began in theory and example to sow broadcast the seeds of another degeneracy. Among educators, such men as President Wayland of Brown University, and Professor Tayler Lewis, led the way to a new position. Dr. Wayland, eminently conscientious and practical as a teacher of Moral Science, when told by Christian gentlemen whom he esteemed that his example in providing wine-sangaree at his annual receptions was misleading and betraying to their ruin, young men in fashionable society, Dr. Wayland promptly said: "If my wine makes my brother to offend, I will have no more of it." Prof. Lewis, scholarly and logical, reversed his opinions and practice, when he perceived, as he himself states it, that "on the

subject of Temperance there has been committed the same error of interpretation that for so long a time confused the slavery question."

To these testimonies was soon added that of Professor Geo. Bush; who, when first appealed to, quoted Old and New Testament declarations to sustain the custom of using intoxicating wines in fashionable society and in Christian rites; but who, when asked, resolved to examine the original Hebrew and Greek Scriptures, and then, after examination, confessed the error into which neglect of thorough investigation had led him, and declared to the advocates of total abstinence: "You have the whole ground; and in time the whole Christian world will be obliged to adopt your views." The New York *Observer*, of August, 1869, adds to this testimony.

ENGLISH STUDY OF BIBLE WINES.

Though behind the young spirit of America, where some of the most progressive representatives of all European nationalities have for a century been gathering, the power of truth and duty is moving upon all Western Europe. And here it should be noted, in order that prejudice be removed, that "reform" in Western Europe on each and all modern questions, implies simply the answer to this demand: "Shall the earlier

and purer, or the later and perverted spirit of our Church and people prevail?" Everywhere therefore, thoughtful minds are yearning for "the old ways" which were trod when the usurpers of the present day were unknown to history. The reflex of American thought and practice, or rather the return to better days and ways, has naturally been first witnessed in the land whose blood, laws and language are the chief national inheritance of Americans.

As a leading modern English writer on Bible Wines, Peter Mearns, of Leeds, England, is a worthy pioneer. His treatises on "tirosh" and other Hebrew products of the vine, and on the wine of the "Jewish Passover and Christian Eucharist," show an intelligent and earnest search for the truth in the inspired Scriptures. Next to the works of Mearns, and prominent before all others, come the numerous writings of Dr. F. R. Lees. His "Temperance Bible Commentary" is replete with scholarly research, and intelligent conclusions. The disadvantage necessary to a commentary, which can not give chronological or logical connection and consistency, has subjected it to minor criticisms, which have been met by special treatises and personal replies. His "Wines, Ancient and Modern," and his "Text-Book of Temperance," are of historic and statistical value; while his occasional tracts

in reply to critics are scholarly, though perhaps, from necessity, they are sometimes caustic. With Dr. Lees is associated Rev. D. Burns, whose finished style in his "Christendom and the Drink Curse," gives point to the researches of Dr. Lees, in whose main work Dr. Burns had a share. The treatises of Rev. Wm. Reid, of Edinburgh, on the "Communion Wine Question," and of several other Scotch and English writers, indicate the strong sweep of Christian sentiment awakened in the English and Scotch Churches, and a return to look for the truth, clear though covered, in the Old and New Testament Scriptures.

When these utterances demanded a scrutiny of social customs, and of Church usages, and were in some measure, perhaps, extreme, and certainly in advance of the spirit of the age, a series of opposing writers appeared. The reactionary party prepared themselves, as did the American scholars of thirty years before, by bringing into service the reports of missionaries in foreign lands. Rev. J. Chalmers, missionary among a rude people, had written: "The bread used at the Communion was the inner growth of the old cocoa-nut, cooked in the native oven; the wine was the water of the new cocoa-nut." Rev. Wm. Wright, a Scotch missionary returned from Damascus, had alluded at a meeting of the Gen-

eral Assembly in Scotland, held June, 1875, to a distinction between *chamer*, intoxicating wine, and *sherbets* as unintoxicating wines; which distinction, as we have seen, the general Arabic Lexicon of Freytag and local Arabic vocabularies confirm. The venerable Dr. Duff, of India, had also publicly made this statement: "In vine-bearing districts the peasant has a basin of pure unadulterated blood of the grape in its native state, not an intoxicating, but a nutritive beverage." In the earlier ages of the Church of Christ, devoted missionaries of the Divine Master would hardly have been denounced for heresy in thus stating what their eyes had seen, and their conviction as to the spirit of their commission had prompted under necessity in their practice. All history, as we have seen, would have confirmed the facts stated, and have justified the exceptional practice. But these utterances were made in a land and at a day of special controversy as to the wines to be used at the Lord's Supper. Letters were sent to missionaries in Syria asking for statements confirmatory of the partial testimony, true in his field, made thirty years before, under similar circumstances, by Rev. Eli Smith; which partial testimony was, as we have seen, overshadowed two years later, by the fuller examination, in another field, made by Rev. Mr. Homes, at Constantinople. The

following card was thus obtained, signed by eight American and English residents, and by two natives in Syria: "We, the undersigned, missionaries and residents in Syria, having been repeatedly requested to make a distinct statement on the subject, hereby declare that during the whole time of our residence and traveling in Syria and the Holy Land, we have never seen nor heard of an unfermented wine; nor have we found among Jews, Christians or Muhammedans any tradition of such a wine having ever existed in the country."

An impartial review of this paper calls attention to the following facts: First, it was a prejudged and formulated statement, prepared in Scotland by interested parties, and sent to Syria for *ex parte* testimony. Second, it was sent to the very region, the Lebanon district, where Rev. Mr. Smith's thorough investigation revealed so few facts on which residents could form a judgment. Third, the traditional records of the ignorant Muhammedans as to ancient customs of Romans and Christians in Palestine, were as defective as was their knowledge of Arabic literature, whose testimony we have already traced. Fourth, the Christian people of the Lebanon district were as ignorant of the Greek and Roman Christian Fathers as were the Muhammedans of Arabic literature. Fifth,

the Jews of the same region were ignorant, as are the Jewish people generally, of the Talmud and other Hebrew records, read only by chief Rabbis; while the traditional customs, now observed by intelligent Israelites from Bagdad on the Euphrates to New York on the Hudson, were naturally lost to the Palestine Jews, principally Spanish; as they were unobserved when Maimonides wrote.

In the *Bibliotheca Sacra* of Jan., 1869, is an article from Rev. T. Laurie, D.D., a former missionary in Syria, entitled "What Wine shall we use at the Lord's Supper?" The author quotes Dr. J. Perkins, who mentions three products of the grape used in Persia: first, the fresh juice drunk as our new cider; second, the juice boiled to a syrup; third, distilled fermented wine called "arak," or Asiatic brandy. He quotes Rev. B. Larabee, seven years a missionary among the Nestorians, who had not learned of unintoxicating wine; and he cites the Syriac term "chamor," written "hamrah," as the name for all wines; the verb "chemar" meaning, to intoxicate. He quotes Rev. E. Smith, already noticed, and Dr. C. V. A. Van Dyck, for twenty-five years a missionary in Syria, as stating that "nothing called *nebid* or *khemer* (chemer) is unfermented." He states, from his own observation and study, the following: "In Syria, and

as far as I can learn, in all the East, there is no wine preserved unfermented, and they never make wine of raisins; but they do make dibs, or molasses, of raisins, and they ferment them and make arak of them by distillation; but they could not keep grape-juice or raisin-water unfermented; it would become either wine or vinegar in a few days, or go into the putrefactive ferment." He adds: "The native Evangelical Churches, also the Maronite, Greek, Coptic and Armenian all use fermented wine at the Communion. They have no other; and have no idea of any other." Again, he states: "The Jews not only use fermented wine at their feasts, but use it to great excess, especially at the Feast of Purim. At the Passover only fermented wine is used." Quoting again Dr. Van Dyck, he says: "As the result of extensive and protracted inquiry, he is decided in the opinion that such a thing as unfermented wine was never known in Syria." In reviewing the products of the grape he quotes Gesenius' derivation of "tirosh," but not his definitions; which are inconsistent, as we have seen, with his derivation.

No one who knows Dr. Laurie, can help esteeming his piety and sincerity. It will at once occur to his readers that the few Persian products of the grape, like Rev. E. Smith's statement thirteen years before as to Syria, show the same

degeneracy in the arts; that the Syriac language and customs now existing are to be compared with the earlier day of the Syriac translation; that the customs of the degenerate Spanish Jews and Oriental Churches are in perfect harmony with the survey taken in this historic treatise; and especially that the "opinion" as to the past and primitive customs of the Church planted by the apostles in Syria, has been formed without knowledge of the historic facts, which have been so overlooked since the era of the Reformation. It was natural that this paper, of such a character and so obtained, should be noticed by the three professors of the College at Belfast, Ireland, in 1875, under the title "Yayin, or the Bible Wine Question."

Subsequently to this, in 1877, Rev. A. M. Wilson, of London, wrote a volume on "The Wines of the Bible," designed to refute the "Unfermented Wine Theory." It is stored with unarranged quotations from authors cited in this volume, and indicates great patience not only in gathering from other collators, but also, in personal translation. It lacks, however, the three unities, of time, place and logical connection; and its citations are so confused, and often contradictory in sentiment, as any scholarly student will on every page observe, that the ordinary reader can form no opinion as to

the point at issue. Most of all, it entirely omits the citations from Hebrew, Greek, Roman and early Christian authors, which demonstrate the existence and careful use of unfermented wine, and the avoidance of fermented wine in religious rites, so generally recognized in human history. The writer's favorite author is Athenæus; and he, certainly, is like that busy Greek, an untiring and learned gatherer; quite in contrast, however, to the practical Pliny; who, in the century succeeding Christ's Apostles, and preceding Athenæus, had recognized principles in his study of wines far in advance of modern Christian attainment.

LITERARY GENIUS EXEMPLIFYING THE LAW OF WINES.

The ancient Greeks and Romans regarded poets as prophets. Paul, the Christian apostle, recognized the force, if not the full truth of this impression, when he appealed to the Greek poets as the specially inspired teachers of truth in natural religion; calling them, in his address to the cultured Athenian Senate (Acts xvii. 28), by the name "poets" or creators, and in writing to the head of the Christian Church, among the rude Cretans (Tit. i. 12), giving them the title of "prophets," or inspired teachers. As there have been inconsistent in-

terpreters of the revealed law of God, men controlled now by the "law of the mind" and now by the "law in the members," so it has been among men of true literary genius, the special moral guides of nations and ages.

Little do the admirers of such writers as the Roman Horace, and the English Byron, of the Scottish Burns, and Irish Moore, fathom the depth of their profound convictions; since they do not even study the drift of the current that appears on the surface. The higher poets, and men of genius, who have left the more lasting gems of literature, must be first understood, and then these supposed anomalies will assume consistency.

The epic poets, and even the dramatists, as distinct from the lyric bards and romancers, have always been prophets pointing out the real law of wines. The poems of Solomon, as we have seen, were parables, veiling truth as to wines. All through the Iliad and Odyssey of Homer, the careful student may trace the deepest philosophy; which comes out especially in their pictures of the two vices, against which Solomon anticipated the blind old Grecian bard in warning men who seek eminence by superior merit. The power of the intoxicating cup, presented by Circe, made brutes of the companions of the wise Ulysses, while he stood firm; but

the wooing song of the Sirens would have tempted him to effeminacy, the sister vice, but for his own injunction to his companions to bind him fast to the mast before they passed the isle of the enchantresses. Virgil but repeats the counsel for the ages taught in his experience, like that of wise Ulysses; while he also, as we have seen, pictures the happy home where "the must is boiled," that it may not ferment. The hero, who is also a sage, may, indeed, by his own power of self-control, resist the temptation of the cup, when proffered by women vainly aspiring amid the seductions of fashion to maintain the claim to virtue; and by this same inward power he may resist, when coming in this open form, the temptation to make himself a brute by drinking of the intoxicating cup. That same man, however, falling gradually into inaction, lapses into lust, like Solomon, the noblest of the Hebrew kings, and thence into effeminacy; and then nothing but bonds imposed from without, by companions, will save him from being "drowned in destruction and perdition." This seems to be the secret of the power of Temperance Associations, and of the Total Abstinence pledge.

Among the higher poets, in the epic and drama, Shakspeare is a discerner and embodier of the law of abstinence taught in history.

That oft quoted, but usually misinterpreted allusion of Hamlet, in the phrase "to the manner born," opens a vista in the history of customs, as seductive as they are oppressive and ruinous. Horatio is from the South; from Italy, whose effeminacy, as opposed to conviviality, was noted in the days alike of Horace, and a thousand years before him, in the days of the Trojan Eneas, and as it now is marked. Hamlet, on the other hand, is of the old German race; among whom marriage infidelity, as Tacitus pictures, was almost unknown, while intoxication, the most beastly, prevailed. Down to the times of Shakspeare and of his Danish hero, the habits of the two regions, as in the Italy and the Germany of to-day, showed the same characteristic contrast.

When Horatio is roused by the midnight noise of drunken revelers, coming from the palace of the newly-installed king, and is told by Hamlet of the "swaggering upstart" draining his "draughts of Rhenish wine," and when, with wonder, this novel scene of brutal drunkenness prompts from Horatio the inquiry, "Is it custom?" Hamlet's reply shows, not his own, but the poet's recognition of the law of wines. Says Hamlet in response:

"Ay, marry, is't:
But to my mind, though I am native here,

> And to the manner born, it is a custom
> More honored in the breach than the observance;
> This heavy-headed revel, east and west,
> Makes us traduced and taxed of other nations.
> They clepe us drunkards; and, with swinish phrase,
> Soil our addition; and, indeed, it takes
> From our achievements, though performed at height,
> The pith and marrow of our attribute."

If that German habit of drinking, from the days of Tacitus to Shakspeare, made other nations call them drunkards and swinish, and one "to the manner born" had to confess that it took from their "achievements the pith and marrow of their attribute"—an attribute so worthy, in many an age, and worthiest now—it should not surprise the scholarly Germans, that the same ineradicable impression as to the *unnatural* in many of their modern æsthetic and literary achievements, still lives in the breasts of other nations. High art in ideal poetry, as in sculpture and painting, pictures ever the true law of wines.

Here the line of distinction between men who have united genius and constant virtue, and their opposites, is specially instructive. The former *always* teach the lesson of abstinence. Shakspeare, Milton, Pope, are constant in their utterances like these:

> "Bacchus that first from out the purple grape
> Crushed the sweet poison of misused wine."

"Oh, that men should put an enemy in
Their mouths to steal their brains!"

"Oh, thou invisible spirit of wine,
If thou hast no name to be called by,
Let us call thee devil!"

"In the flowers that wreath the sparkling bowl,
Fell adders hiss and poisonous serpents roll."

"The brain dances to the mantling bowl."

"They fancy that they feel
Divinity within them breeding wings."

The fact that Milton, like Shakspeare, notes that one class of the tempted fall a prey to one, and another to the other of the two "youthful lusts," prepares the thoughtful student to estimate rightly the utterances of inconstant genius. In his "Samson Agonistes," Milton draws out at length, in the colloquy between the fallen hero and his parents, his confession, that though temptation to licentiousness has led him into sin, and brought its penalty, he could repress "desire of wine,"

"Which many a famous warrior overturns."
"His drink was only from the liquid brook."

Coming then to the apparent contradiction found in men like Horace and Byron, we find that same poet of the sensual and voluptuous, in company with the abstemious and even dys-

peptic Virgil at the banquet table of Mecænas and Augustus. We find more: that his seductive pictures of pleasure in the wine-cup, are not the serious, deep and real convictions of the man when he is himself. They have but half read Byron, who only revel in his "Don Juan"; when intoxicated the poet is not himself. Byron's sublime genius, the poem that will outlive his age, is "Childe Harold." There he is himself, and not another, and a deluded man. There, his reason and his conscience—*the man*, speaks; not the beastly "law in the members," which always, as in Paul, "wars against the mind." Let any young man who thinks Byron was great, or Burns, or Moore, because they drank intoxicating wine, turn and witness the hours in the lives of these very men, when, like the youth, in Jesus' parable, it could be said "he came to himself." Read *all* such men wrote, or none! "Drink deep" at the fount of their thought, or "touch not the Pierian spring!" No men ever taught the law of wines as have men like these. Their "mourning at the last," is like that of the French popular leader, Mirabeau; who, but for the weakening of his physical and mental power by his early drinking habit, might have ruled France by his intellect, in place of Napoleon with his sword.

MODERN ARTISTS AND WINES.

The true idea of art, as applied to science, brings within its field that class of men of high endeavor, who, in every department, seek to make the discoveries of men of science minister to human utility, or to cultivate the love of beauty. Higher artists, like poets, lead men of science, as well as follow them.

Even the men of superior mechanical genius, inventors in the useful arts, have been noted for quick observation of the law of intoxicating drinks, and for their resoluteness in fixing their own laws of fashion as to their use. Especially exposed to temptation by the proffer of the luxuries which success invites, it would be strange if some did not fall. No class of men, however, more quickly recognize the law of their own easily excited constitution; no men are more humiliated when self-conviction yields to the insidious suggestion of meretricious fashion; and no men, in the main, are more intelligently abstinent from all intoxicants, even from light wines.

The men of higher art, in its various departments, are next in their witness as to the law of wines. The aspirants for fame as athletes, who school themselves to attain superior strength and elasticity of muscle, have always

known that abstinence from intoxicants is absolutely essential to success. Alike among the Greeks, at the Olympic games, and among modern contestants, though in seasons of relaxation the tempting wine-cup may be indulged in, when the season for training comes, a self-imposed abstinence is the first rule to be enforced. As the commander of an ocean steamer will soon lose his place if he can not, during the entire voyage, practice abstinence, so the stroke-oar of a college boat-club would soon pass to another hand if the man who holds it could not abjure wine. Law will utter its mandate, and put in its claim! Happy the youth who from *preference* keeps its command!

In the yet higher walks of the plastic arts, history repeats itself. Mrs. Jameson has simply recorded what beforehand might have been anticipated; that the great masters, Lionardo, M. Angelo, and Raphael, were noted for their strict, moral habits; among others, for abstinence from intoxicants. To this class, the yet greater master, Correggio, adds a yet brighter testimony. In later days, the English Cruikshank, now brought into prominence for his abstinence, illustrates the law, and the reason why many artists do not adhere to it. When he resolved to save his power as an artist, by abstinence from drinking habits, by so doing he

was forced to sacrifice the patronage of many of his former flatterers. About 1845, he drew and published from conviction of duty, his de signs of "The Bottle," published at New York in 1848, with poetic comments by Grattan. It sketched eight steps in the wine-drinker's downward career; first, the husband presenting the *wine*-glass to his wife; then that husband discharged from employ, for occasional intoxication; then the confirmed drunkard, pawning books and furniture for strong liquors; then the sot sending his children to beg; then the swine-like beast, burying some of these children through sickness induced by want; then the dog-like brute, quarreling with his half-intoxicated wife; then the raging demon, killing the idol of his youth in a fit of passion; and last, the raving maniac in a felon's cell. In this picture of the law of wine, Cruikshank simply took a stand which Murillo, Durer, and even Rubens confessed was the true one; while they knew, too, they would have been wiser, happier and more successful, had they been firmer in maintaining it. Twenty years later, in the success which followed his "Worship of Bacchus," presented to and patronized by Queen Victoria, at Windsor, in 1867, Cruikshank could, in the climax of his well-earned fame, rejoice in the progress of a reform he had aided

to advance. And when now, in declining age, this popular artist is devoting time, property, and talent to a work which he has proved to be England's greatest modern boon, the virtue of abstinence from intoxicating liquors, he can, with the joy of the great "Master," in a higher work, exult that in old age he is bearing his ripest fruit.

Cruikshank is not an exception among the men of kindred genius. Such well know that the secret of their strength lies, like that of the famed Hebrew Samson, in the virtue of abstinence from every intoxicant. Gustave Doré is but indicating the common conviction of higher artists.

MODERN FASHIONABLE SOCIETY AND WINES.

The power in controlling society designated by the term "fashion," has been a study since the days of Aristotle. That clear thinker finds an important principle in the manifest relation of the two Greek words so similar in sound; *ĕthos* with a short penult, and *ēthos* with a long penult. The former means a custom that has grown out of a natural and, therefore, permanent moral conviction that has established uniform law; the latter means a custom that has originated in some whim, often in some folly of the day. The men of genius in literature and art,

above cited, rose above the latter through the power of the former.

The origin of customs of luxury, in what is called "good society," is made clear by uniform history. It was distinctly seen and stated beforehand by Samuel, the last of the Republican rulers of the Hebrew nation, what the fashion of a court, with a king as ruler, would be; wine-drinking being prominent in the decline. It has been continuously illustrated in all nations, when the plain and frugal habits of self-made men, like Cyrus, Alexander, Augustus, Charlemagne and Napoleon, have succumbed to a coterie of inferior satellites, who talk of "fashion" as lord of all. Under the doubly seductive spell of flattery and sycophancy, the truly great leader is made to think himself a hero where he was not made to lead; and, led himself under the leash of professed masters in the world of fashion, he is dwarfed to the level of those whose only merit is their guile.

The wine-cup comes in the line of the seducer's arts, both male and female; Cyrus imitates Belshazzar in spite of his youth's better convictions; Alexander listens to courtesans, instead of to Aristotle, his teacher, and to Androcydes, his physician; Augustus is swayed more by the voluptuous Horace than by the intellectual Virgil, and yields more to the wine than to the wis-

dom of Mecænas; and Napoleon, aping at last the follies of effete monarchs that he had contemned, becomes as weak as they.

America has as yet seen but here and there a princely family, either of wealth or of intellect, perpetuated in even the second generation. In the American Republic, the Astors in inherited fortune, and the Adamses in hereditary culture, are as rare as the Catoes and Fabians in the old Roman Republic.

Chief among the causes of this alarming fact, is that absurdest of all the fancies and follies passing current under the pretense of "fashion," wine-drinking. The man who by abstinence from intoxicants has secured the mental and moral power which this abstinence bestows is betrayed into the fallacy that he can not maintain position in good society without abjuring the very law by which he has attained that position. Never did selfishness conceive a more serpent-like contradiction; and yet, from the days of the tempter in Eden, it has been efficacious; as it was when that arch foe of God and man, hid in Eden the double-meaning of his flattering fallacy, "In the day ye eat" or drink "thereof, ye shall be as gods, knowing *good* and *evil!*" True to his word, in modern fashion as in Eden's temptation, all that is *new* in the promise is "the knowledge of *the evil;*"

and that knowledge to be gained by bitter experience.

The self-made and self-elevated prince in intellectual position and in money-fortune, *must* have his wine-vault, and his dinner accompaniment supplied from its stores. The writer in the Talmud, who had the vision of Eden's tempter passing by the garden of Noah, the only family saved from the flood, when the arch-foe smiled and went away sure of his victim—that writer was not a seer only, but a student of history. How soon that Noah is a beast in his drunkenness, and Ham, his son, is making sport of his idiotic father! The *family* fails in the first generation. Only *one* cause is assigned for this by the inspired writer! That cause should startle aspiring American fathers. They are repeating, just as if there were no law of wines, the same insane folly of seeking to maintain position for themselves by violating the very law through whose observance they attained it. Yea, more; they are even dreaming that their sons and daughters are to be exalted by that luxury which, without exception in the world's history, has ensured family downfall. The wise in American, and even more in European courts and families are reviewing the history of the Catoes; whose ancestor wrote the earliest preserved recipe for "preserving wines always unfermented."

MODERN CHEMISTS ON THE LAW OF WINES.

In America, popular science embodied in Text Books is a valuable guide to more exhaustive treatises. Most of the Chemical Text-Books, as those of Silliman, Youmans, Wells, and of Rolfe and Gillet, treat of the process of fermentation. They describe the formation of alcohol as a transition stage, in which, if nature be allowed to complete her work, undiverted by human devices, she will, like her Divine Author, change the evil into good; as promptly destroying, as she had created, the lurking, but short-lived "poison in the cup." The more profound works of men like the American Dalton, the English Huxley, the French Pasteur and Engel, and the German Mayer and Helmholtz, trace to its germinal development, the series of processes; first, from life to death, and, second, from death to life, in the two successive fermentations of the juice of the grape. In these embryological observations, traced by the aid of the microscope, the same palpable fact is made conspicuous; that the alcoholic fermentation develops the virus found in all decay; which virus, as a deadly poison, none but the most reckless man of science would allow to taint his blood.

To the practical truth as to unfermented

wines, special attention was given by Baron Liebig, one of the most eminent writers on Chemistry, applied to Agriculture, to the Arts, and to the laws of Health; whose superior merit, Baron Humboldt brought out in 1824, and whose fidelity to his early promise was attested till his death, in 1873. Among his numerous treatises, the most popular has been his "Chemishe Briefe," published in 1844, and soon translated into English and widely sold in Great Britain and America, under the title, "Familiar Letters on Chemistry and its Relations to Commerce, Physiology and Agriculture." In Letter XX. Liebig indicates, that practical experiment now attests the effectiveness of the methods employed by the Romans before and after Christ's day, in obtaining "unfermented wines." The Roman method was to separate the watery saccharine juice from the glutinous pulp before applying the pressure which forced out the pulp. The Romans, after corking and sealing, immersed the bottles of strained saccharine juice in cold cistern-water. Liebig states his method thus: "If a flask be filled with grape-juice, and be made air-tight and then kept for a few hours in boiling water, or until the contained grape-juice has become thoroughly heated to the boiling point, the wine does not ferment, but remains perfectly sweet until the

flask is again opened, and its contents brought in contact with the air." The careful reader will observe, that Liebig in this experimental proof has not, like the ancients, first separated the albuminous pulp from the saccharine juice; that he applies extreme heat, in place of moderate cold, to arrest ferment; and that then it is not permanently arrested because the albuminous pulp was not at the outset excluded. The practical science of the Romans is thus thrown all the more into relief. Apparently self-guided, Liebig also re-discovered the Roman method of correcting failure in ill-corked bottles by the use of sulphur or sulphur fumes. In his edition of Turner's Chemistry, Liebig treats fully on the subject of fermentation.

MODERN ENCYCLOPÆDISTS ON THE LAW OF WINES.

Modern encyclopædists, of whom Pliny was the ancient type, while, presenting on each topic, the results of recent scientific investigation, trace also, more or less fully, the history of the sciences and arts of which they treat. The encyclopædists of France, England and America have indirectly gathered testimony of great value as to the observed dangers from alcoholic liquors, and the means of preserving wines exempt from alcoholic admixture. In the popular

French Cyclopædia, published at Paris, in 1855, Colin states the origin of alcoholic fermentation as arising from the presence of the glutinous pulp in the saccharine juice; and he describes how sweet wines (vins doux) are obtained by separation of the saccharine or sugary material (matiere sucrée) from the albuminous or nitrogenous matter. He especially declares the alcoholic fermentation to be but a stage of nature in converting "vins doux," sweet wine, into "vin-aigre," sour wine, or vinegar.

In the English Cyclopædia of Charles Knight, London, 1859, the process of obtaining sweet wines is described with these remarks: "If sugar predominates, the wine is sweet; if gluten, it is liable to acetic ferment, forming sour wine. This divides wines. While the vinous fermentation goes on . . . . the acetous can not commence." Liebig's methods of securing wines free from alcohol are then described.

In the American Cyclopædia of the Appletons, published in 1874, Liebig's theories and results of fermentation are presented; and a rare Byzantine work, describing the methods of securing sweet and unintoxicating wines during the early Christian centuries, is cited. The relation of "Lachrymæ Christi" to old Falernian wines is alluded to, and the return to scientific methods in wine-making throughout Italy is noted.

In the Cyclopædia of Johnson, in an able article by Professor Chandler, of New York, the theory of Helmholtz, that fermentation, both vinous and acetous, is a process of life—rather, than as Liebig supposed, a stage of death, succeeded by fitness for a new vitality—is presented; but the fact is made palpable, that the formation of alcohol is a transition process of nature; and that the alcohol of intoxicating drinks would not permanently exist, unless man's invention interfered with the process.

MODERN MEDICAL SCIENCE AS TO WINES.

The progress of modern chemistry has directed special attention to the nature, the origin, and the uses of alcohol as it is developed and concentrated in wines. Chemists, proper, have studied this merely from love of science; conscientious physicians, especially those devoted to the effort to reform inebriates, have made it a life-long specialty; while, too often, statements of medical practitioners, regarded as the teachings of science, have been superficial views framed to suit the prejudice or preference of interested parties. Profound specialists, however, in medical practice, and in "Materia Medica," such as Dr. Benjamin W. Richardson, of England, and Drs. Stephen Smith, Charles Jewett, and others of America, are now giving

testimony which accords with the observations of a line of the ablest practical physicians that have succeeded each other since the days of the Grecian Hippocrates.

These results are unquestioned. *First*, Ferment is a process of destruction of certain chemical compounds as they are passing over to form other compounds. Alcohol is an intermediate, temporary transition product of vinous fermentation in grape-juice, passing through the changes incident to the decomposition of some of its elements. As a product of nature, or of the Author of nature, it is not to be argued that it is designed to be healthful; any more than it can be argued that the virus of a human body, a few hours after death, which, if left to nature's changes, will pass into a condition to be healthful food for new plant-life, is *as virus*, in its *transition* stage, a healthful product.

Second, Alcohol, arrested in its own natural passage into other chemical compounds produced by the second, or acetous ferment, is a deadly poison. This, the Arabian chemists, who first succeeded in concentrating it, and who gave it its title, recognized; and, hence, they gave it the name of one of the most virulent poisons, known to the ancients as *al-kohl*, or antimony. Applied to a surface-wound it acts, as all scientific surgeons agree, as a caustic, and

searing application. Taken internally, it is an irritant, rather than a stimulant. As a tonic it is not *as alcohol* that it is used; but in admixture with other ingredients of wines and brandies.

The ancient physicians, as Hippocrates, already quoted, recommended alcoholic wines as an anæsthetic, to relieve pain in acute disease, such as strangury. The fact that alcohol in its pure state is not administered as such medicinally, and the additional fact that burnt brandy, from which the alcohol is removed, has the tonic properties of the brandy, is a sufficient indication that alcohol has not, as such, a legitimate place in the materia medica, except as an anæsthetic, or as an irritant. Its place might be supplied by other tonics free from its poison. Probably such tonics would be supplied, but for another illegitimate and unhealthful effect of wines and brandies; on account of whose temporarily stupefying, but permanently enervating effect, persons diseased in body and mind crave alcoholic drinks.

Third, The direct, and principal effect of alcohol, when taken into the stomach, is produced on the nervous system. Its action is similar to that of nitrous oxide gas, and ether vapor. Its irritating influence gives, for a brief time, a feverish action to the nerves; producing, temporarily, pleasurable sensations and nervous ex-

hilaration. This exhilaration, however, is soon succeeded either by nervous prostration or derangement, which exhibits itself in sleepy stupor, or in sleepless restlessness.

The testimonies of scientific physicians, and medical experts, have been multiplying for years in America, and England. Dr. Thomas Sewell, from 1821 to 1839 President of the Medical Faculty of Columbian University, Washington, D.C., the trusted medical adviser of men of the highest position, followed up, for years, a series of post-mortem examinations at hospitals and asylums, designed to trace the effects of alcoholic drinks on every portion of the human system. The results of his investigations were published in a series of tracts, illustrated with microscopic views of the various tissues as affected by the alcohol in wines and other intoxicants. The revelation was at that day, startling; but his deduction as to abstinence and the use of other tonics, by physicians, were in advance of public sentiment. In later years the investigations of Dr. A. Coles, of New Jersey, the discriminating and timely treatises of Dr. Charles Jewett, of Connecticut, and of Dr. Stephen Smith, of New York, have given new testimony. The recent volume of Dr. Ezra M. Hunt on "Alcohol as a Food, and a Medicine," confirms the view, that it is in no

sense nutritious, and that, as a medicine, it is a "cardiac stimulant, admitting often of a substitution."

In England the treatises of Dr. Benjamin W. Richardson, on "Alcohol," in 1875, and on "The Action of Alcohol on Body and Mind," in 1877, have begun a revolution in sentiment, and a reform in practice in England. Dr. W. B. Carpenter, supported by Dr. Richardson, as also by Professor Youmans, Dr. W. E. Greenfield, and by the able physicians of New York devoted to the restoration of inebriates, unite in urging abstinence from all intoxicants on those who would ensure for themselves soundness of body and mind. Two hundred and sixty-five English physicians and surgeons have united in an appeal, based on their experience in hospitals, urging the medical fraternity not to recommend alcohol so as to make it seem of dietetic value. Sir Henry Thompson, the eminent surgeon, personally appeals to the Archbishop of Canterbury to use his religious influence to sustain the "Medical Faculties."

Whatever has a history, has also a law. The ancients, as we have seen, by induction from externally observed influences, reached the range of facts that controlled their sentiment as to intoxicating wine; and these facts led, first, to individual convictions as to the wisdom of per-

sonal abstinence; then to municipal statutes, designed to protect women, children, and other classes most exposed to temptation, and also, officers when on duty; and finally to religious ordinances against intoxicants used in religious rites, and by officers of religion. What the ancients attained to by induction, chemistry now demonstrates by analysis and experiment, and urges as law.

MODERN STATESMEN AND CIVIL STATUTES AS TO WINES.

While in America the common intoxicating beverages are distilled liquors, in England beer, in Germany wine and beer, and in France wine, are, like the ancient wines, less charged with alcohol. In both England and America, wines are the intoxicating beverages sought by the more wealthy. The voice of the people and the principles of statesmen revealed in modern legislation, when compared with ancient statutes, must be carefully analyzed.

Very many leaders of public sentiment in Europe and America urge the right and duty of legislation to restrict, and even to prohibit the sale of distilled and drugged liquors; and personally restrict themselves to "moderate drinking." They do not, however, like the wisest of the Greeks and the best of the Romans, recog-

nize the social and religious evils of wine-drinking, and the fact that true temperance is abstinence from all intoxicants. There can be no question, however, that modern legislative science is following rapidly in the track of modern medical science as to alcoholic wines.

In all modern as well as ancient legislation, intoxicating liquors have been selected as distinct from all articles of food and drink, to be made subjects of restrictive legislation. In this respect they are placed in the class with other poisons. The principle of right, the duty of law is thus admitted; and that, in all modern States and nations. Thus admitted, the principle must be allowed any extent of application which the public interest and the popular demand requires. There is no statesman of modern times who will think of controverting this position: that intoxicant beverages, in this, as in all past ages, must be made the subject of repressive legislation. The simple question of modern times is this: Whether the ancient wisdom and virtue of personal abstinence, and hence, of consistent legislation, shall be revived and restored. It is only this feature of the modern temperance reform that comes under the discussion of "the Divine Law as to Wines."

Though difficult of separation in discussion, the utterances of modern statesmen and the

growing drift of legislation, tend to the theory that fermented, as well as distilled liquors are injurious to the individual and society; that lawmakers should themselves set the example of abstinence; and that thus they should be prepared to enact and to enforce laws manifestly required for the well-being of society.

In Germany, as Dr. Philip Schaff, in his recent statement as to the American Temperance Reform made at Basle, Switzerland, has reported, Prince Bismarck has revived the Reform watchword of Luther; that the curse of Germany is the "sauf teufel," or "social-drinking tempter." That sagacious statesman affirms that the beer-drinking social customs of Germany, which from social customs soon grow into personal, private habits, make the common people "stupid and lazy," and thus prepare them to be the fit tools of disorganizing demagogues.

As to France, the following striking example of the influence of popular institutions in prompting abstinence from both narcotics and stimulants, is thus stated by a correspondent of one of the leading New York journals:

"M. Jules Simon is on the shady side of sixty. He belongs to the evergreen family of French public men who never smoked, or drank absinthe. I am sorry to say he will, in all likelihood, be the last of a tribe which numbered the

three Dupins, Thiers, Guizot, Michelet, Dufaure, Barthelemy St. Hilaire, Mignet and Cousin. Victor Hugo only smokes in the Channel Islands, and there, never in excess. Etienne Arago's mouth was never familiar with a cigar. He is near eighty, and in conversation fresh, sparkling, and full of vigor. Were I fond of making reflections, I should say to anti-tobaccoists, do not these splendid evergreens furnish you with a strong argument against the 'fragrant weed'? Make use of it; and preach to the rich that by abstaining from tobacco and strong drink, and being temperate in all things, they may hope to enjoy wealth and health, and the full possession of their faculties up to the age of eighty." This testimony is in accord with the fact already observed in ancient history; that the men who make the most possible of themselves, and do most for the real welfare of their country as statesmen, are, in both practice and theory, abstinent from narcotics and stimulants.

In England, the attention of Parliament, which reflects popular and ruling sentiment, has been called to laws tending to secure abstinence even from fermented drinks, as beer; and the advocates of such reform are numerous and eminent. A recent publication, a "Prize Essay" by James Smith, M.A., of the Free Church of Scotland, published at London,

in 1875, brings together facts that have impressed the English people, and their legislators, with the enormous property-waste and pauper-destitution, aside from the destruction of health and morals which the mere social custom of beer-drinking has imposed on the noble Anglo-Saxon race.

The treatise was selected from among eighty-six Essays, presented to a committee of award, whose chairman was R. Payne Smith, D.D., Dean of Canterbury. While most of the volume, under the title "The Temperance Reformation and the Christian Church," is devoted to the consideration of distilled liquors, and of Church and State duty as to their use and sale, 'wines," also, are brought in for consideration. Under Henry VII., who reigned 1485 to 1509, an act of Parliament (11th of Henry VII.) was passed, providing: "It shall be lawful to two Justices to reject and put away common ale-selling in towns and places where they shall think convenient." Under Edward VI., in 1552, (Acts 5 and 6), the license laws were elaborated for enforcement; whose effect is thus celebrated in the instructions of the Lord-Keeper to the Circuit-Judges in 1602, under Elizabeth: They should "ascertain for the Queen's information, how many ale-houses the justices of the peace had pulled down, so that the good justices

might be rewarded and the evils removed." The writer traces an alternation of advancing and receding legislation, down to the famous "Beer House" act of 1830, which, it was supposed, by increasing the facilities for the drinking of fermented liquors would check the use of distilled liquors. The result was, that while from 1821–30, ten years prior to the act, the amount of British spirits consumed was nearly fifty-eight million gallons, in the subsequent ten years it was nearly seventy-seven millions, or an increase of 32 per cent. In 1839, Lord Brougham, speaking in the House of Lords, repeats Aristotle's argument in reply to the Athenian, in Plato: "To what good was it that the Legislature should pass laws to punish crime, or that their lordships should occupy themselves in finding out modes of improving the morals of the people by giving them education? What could be the use of sowing a little seed here, and plucking a weed there, if these beer-shops were to be continued, that they might go on to sow the seeds of immorality broadcast over the land?" The enlarged license, given to beer-houses, having failed, the same experiment was tried as to wines, in an act of 1860, a foreign, instead of a home product; but with just the same result. The act of 1853, however, like American Statutes prohibiting sales

on Sunday and at late hours, with other like acts, was working gradual good; since it stamped the use and sale as in itself an evil, and a danger. The writer goes over the Scripture statements as to wine; examining the nature of Hebrew wines; citing Drs. Duff and Thomson, as to the use of pure "grape-juice," and of "dibs," or syrup, by the natives in Syria, such as every studious tourist may meet; quoting, also, Jewish Rabbis of New York, as to their use of "unfermented wine;" and replying to Dean Alford on New Testament wines.

The Honorable John Bright has recently made this public appeal to the Scotch people: among whom, more generally than in England, distilled take the place of fermented liquors: "If all the ministers of the Scotch Church were to banish whisky from their houses, and the consumption of it from their customs or social habits, they could do much to discredit and to withdraw one fertile source of poverty and suffering in Scotland." This statement of that sagacious, popular Parliamentarian, in the very use of the term "customs, or social habits," and in the mention of "poverty and suffering," indirectly, and, therefore, most effectively, indicates the grounds, in law, on which legislation will proceed, when the public mind comes to

require its interest and the legitimate mode of securing that interest.

In American jurisprudence, the consistent practice of able statesmen has led to progressive legislation, which has not been in advance of public sentiment. The American people will have occasion, for generations, to be grateful for such examples, and, therefore, such efficient leaders in legislation, as the Honorables George N. Briggs, and Henry Wilson of Massachusetts, Honorable William E. Dodge of New York, and others.

WINES IN RECENT AMERICAN LEGISLATION.

As intimated, legislation becomes efficient and effective when law-makers are personally conformed in spirit and life to the laws they enact. In three special respects, legislation as to wines, and other fermented liquors, has witnessed a steady advance in public sentiment. First, The increase of foreign populations, addicted to the use of wines and beers, as well as their use in so-called fashionable American society, has led to the extension of the laws formerly restricting the sale and use of distilled liquors, so as to include wines and beers. Second, The methods of evading the force of law in restricting the sale and use of all kinds of

intoxicants, has led to the extension of the privilege of supervision; wives, and even children, being authorized to warn the dealer, and to prosecute for damages; while the officers of the law have supervisors over them, elected to see that their duty is discharged. Third, The right to withhold licenses, and thus to prohibit entirely the sale and use of intoxicants, has been given by States to communities and towns within their limits; while the National Government, through its Courts, has re-affirmed the right of States to enact such provisions, tending to prohibition.

A pamphlet just issued by the National Temperance Society and Publication House, at 58 Reade Street, New York, gives in full the "Liquor Laws" of several leading States, and an abstract of the Statutes of other States; which the student of law will find, should he consult the Revised Statutes of the several States of the Union, are a fair index to the progress of popular sentiment throughout the United States. They indicate advance in the three particulars above mentioned. They show especially, that this advance has prevailed in States where, ten years ago, such legislation would have been found opposed to the spirit of the people.

In Maine, the statutes are varied and minute

In the chapter framed in 1872, it is declared: "Ale, porter, strong beer, lager-beer, and all other malt liquors, wine and cider, shall be considered intoxicating liquors within the meaning of this chapter, as well as all distilled spirits." In the amendment of 1877, providing for stricter enforcement of the law, the prohibition reads: "Wine, ale, porter, strong beer, lager-beer, and all other malt liquors and cider when kept or deposited with intent to sell the same for tippling purposes." The penalty for selling without license, "any intoxicating liquor manufactured in the State, except cider, shall be two months' imprisonment, and a fine of one thousand dollars." In Vermont the Statute mentions "spirituous or malt liquor," and declares that the place of sale without license "shall be held and regarded as a common nuisance, kept in violation of law." The Massachusetts Statutes mention "spirituous or intoxicating liquors"; from whose list "cider and native wines" alone are excepted. They permit a wife, or even a child, to be an authorized informer. In a later section, the Statute specifies: "The terms intoxicating liquor, or liquors, in this Act, shall be construed to include ale, porter, strong beer, lager-beer, cider, and all wines, as well as distilled spirits." In Connecticut, the License provisions adopted in 1872, and again in 1874, cover "spirituous and intoxicat-

ing liquors, ale, or lager-beer"; the Act not deciding that ale and lager-beer are intoxicating, while later Acts of 1874 and 1877, specify "spirituous or intoxicating liquors, ale, Rhine wine, and lager-beer."

New England legislation is but little in advance of the Middle, Western, and even some of the Southern States, in the three particulars named. The New York Statute of 1857, made for a region where wines early became prominent, specifies "spirituous liquors and wines;" forbidding the gift or sale of either to apprentices or minors. Acts of 1869 and 1870, provide special officers in counties and towns, for the enforcement of the liquor laws. Acts of 1873 and 1874, extend the provisions of the law to "spirituous liquors, wines, ale, and beer"; and provide special damages to parties injured by abuse of license. In a decision rendered by Judge J. Welles, in 1860, the following language is used by the Court: "That ale, strong beer, porter, and most of the fermented liquors known in this country, ... can and do produce intoxication, ... and that such is the ordinary effect of their use as a beverage, no man of mature years . . . . can have failed to observe." In New Jersey, early Statutes included "vinous, spirituous, and strong liquors," and forbade the sale of any liquors on credit; while a later section as to abuses enu

merates "vinous, fermented, spirituous, or strong and intoxicating liquors." An Act of 1870 enumerates "ale, strong beer, lager-beer, porter, wine, or any other malt liquors"; and an Act of 1874, prohibits the sale of all these on Sunday In 1853 began a succession of Acts of New Jersey, granting special privileges of restriction to towns, which has led on to special Acts authorizing the citizens of specified localities, by majority-vote to prohibit the sale of all liquors named in the law by withholding licenses. In an appeal case, which took the ground that it was unconstitutional for the Legislature to confer on local authorities the right to prohibit, the Supreme Court of the State decided: "That municipal corporations may derive the power to *interdict* the sale of intoxicating drinks from the same source to which they owe their authority to *regulate* it."

The Western and Southern States are rapidly following the Eastern and Middle States in the three respects named. An Act of Ohio, in 1866, uses the general term "any intoxicating liquor whatever." Michigan, in 1877, specifies the "manufacturing, selling, or offering for sale spirituous or intoxicating liquors, wine, brewed or malt liquors." Kansas requires "that petitions for license must be signed by a majority of all the citizens in the ward or township, of twenty-

one years of age or over." Iowa prohibits the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors "except for mechanical, medical, culinary, or sacramental purposes"; excepting only those imported under laws of the United States, and "beer, cider and wine made of home-products, and for home use." West Virginia forbids painted and other screens to hide purchasers from the public eye. Kentucky, by a recent Act, provides for local prohibition of the sale of "spirituous, vinous or malt liquors," and adds this special provision as to druggists and physicians: that the druggist may sell only "on a prescription made and signed by a regular practicing physician"; and adds, "but no physician shall make or sign any such prescription, except the person for whom it is made be actually sick, and such liquor is absolutely required as a medicine." Last of all, the Mexican border State of Texas, by an Act passed in 1776, provides for local prohibition, with this noteworthy exception: "Provided, that nothing herein contained shall be construed to prohibit the sale of wines for sacramental purposes; nor alcoholic stimulants as medicines in cases of actual sickness, when sold upon the written prescription of a regular practicing physician, certifying upon honor that the same is actually necessary as a medicine." These three specifications, "wines

for sacramental purposes," "medicines in cases of actual sickness," and "certifying upon honor that the same is actually necessary as a medicine," are the three points about which new studies and new statutes are yet to cluster.

The recent enactment of such State Laws, and their endorsement on repeated appeals by United States Courts as constitutional, gives striking testimony to the fact, that the people of the United States, as a body, believe in these three facts: first, that wines and other fermented liquors are intoxicating and dangerous; second, that as such, their use by youth, and even their prescription as a medicine by physicians, is to be strictly guarded, if not positively prohibited by law; and third, that the interests, material and moral, of any community give them the right to prohibit both the sale and use of intoxicants in their neighborhood.

While the legitimacy, under State Constitutions, of Local Prohibition, has been maintained, its legitimacy under United States law has also been repeatedly tested. From the time of the armed opposition to the "Whisky Act," under Washington, the right of Congress, as of State Legislatures, to tax the importation, manufacture and sale of spiritous liquors, has been maintained. But the plea that this tax, levied by Congress, can not be consistent with local

prohibition, has been always met by adverse decisions. Said Honorable Chief-Justice Taney, in an early appeal case: "If any State deems the retail and internal traffic in ardent spirits injurious to its citizens, and calculated to produce idleness, vice or debauchery, I see nothing in the Constitution of the United States to prevent it from restraining, or from prohibiting it altogether, if it thinks proper" (5 Howard). The decisions of succeeding judges have represented the early argument most elaborately, as applied to wines.

And here the thoughtful student of the past recalls that this modern conviction and conduct is but the reviving of the wisdom and virtue of early ages and generations. It but reflects the wisdom of the Greeks and Romans, of Brahmins and Egyptians, of inspired Moses and Paul, as we have seen; men who wrote when distilled liquors were unknown, and when the only intoxicants were fermented liquors, especially wines, in whose healthful ingredients the poisonous stage of ferment had been perpetuated to pamper diseased and depraved human cravings. It but restores, moreover, the virtue of ancestral generations; for any one that will trace the history of legislation, back from Blackstone and the Code Napoleon, through Anglo-Saxon and old German codes, till they meet

and interlace with the Roman Civil Codes, he will see that the earlier German, French and Anglo-Saxon "witan," or wise men, legislated, in all their generations, against fermented wines.

Yet, more, the *reasoning* which is presented as justifying and demanding legislation, as to wines and fermented liquors, is testimony that experience in modern Europe as to the demoralizing and ruinous influence of wines, is just that ascribed to them by the ancients.

To this discussion, much has been contributed by the published treatises and addresses of Honorable Messrs. William E. Dodge, William B. Spooner, and Neal Dow; and of Messrs. A. M. Powell, J. W. Ray, B. D. Townsend, J. L. Baily, and J. Black; as also by Rev. Drs. A. A. Miner and B. St. James Fry, and by Rev. Messrs. E. H. Pratt and W. F. Crafts; who have discussed the economical and social interests involved.

Here the work of Honorable Robert C. Pitman, LL.D., Associate Justice of the Superior Court of Massachusetts, just issued, and entitled "The Problem of Law as to the Liquor Traffic," comes in with its special testimony. While most of the volume is devoted to the evils of distilled intoxicants, the 19th Chapter, entitled the "Milder Alcoholics," brings out an array of testimony by careful ob-

servers quite unlike that of casual tourists in Europe. Of these gathered testimonies, the following are specimens: In France, Montalembert said, in the National Assembly, as early as 1850, "Where there is a wine-shop, there are the elements of disease, and the frightful source of all that is at enmity with the interests of the workman." In 1872, the French Government appointed a committee to report on the national vice of wine-drinking. In the report of their Secretary, they say, after citing the fearful demoralization produced by wine before, during, and after the war with Prussia: "There is one point on which the French Assembly thought and felt alike. . . . . To restore France to her right position, their moral and physical powers must be given back to her people. . . . . To combat a propensity, which has long been regarded as venial, because it seemed to debase and corrupt only the individual, but the prodigious extension of which has resulted in a menace to society at large and to the temporary humiliation of the country, seemed incumbent on the men to whom that country has entrusted the task of investigating, and remedying its evils." In Switzerland, Dr. Guillaume, of the National Society for Penitentiary Reform, states, in 1872, that "the liberty of the wine-traffic, and intoxication therefrom,

is the source of fifty per cent. of the crimes committed."

In Italy, Cardinal Acton, late Supreme-Judge at Rome, has stated that nearly all the crimes at Rome "originated in the use of wine." Recorder Hill, appointed to gather facts abroad, to influence British legislation, reported in 1858, "Each of the governors of State prisons in Baden and Bavaria, assured me that it was wine in the one country, and beer in the other, which filled their jails." American legislation as to wines and beers, is but following modern as well as ancient experience; for all the dangers attending the use of distilled liquors are linked to the use of fermented wines.

WINE IN RECENT CHURCH REFORM.

As just intimated, that peculiar proviso of the most advanced American legislation, which, in forbidding the local prohibition of the sale of "intoxicating wines" for certain "necessary" uses, as "medicinal and sacramental purposes," is the hinge of thought on which, for ages, good men have sought the light of truth. Their convictions have centered about two points: first, the fact that Gospel "temperance" implies and requires abstinence from intoxicating beverages; second, that it is the duty of the Chris-

tian Church to seek, if it may be found, an unfermented and unintoxicating wine.

It should be observed, that among earnest Christian workers, in City Missions especially, many reformed inebriates have been brought into Christian Churches, both in Great Britain and in America. In the recent large increase of this number, the danger of reviving, at the Lord's Supper, a craving for intoxicating drink, has become an alarming reality. Men, like Mr. Moody, who never knew the power of this habit, have supposed, that by regeneration the thirst for intoxicants is eradicated. Others, like Mr. Gough, who have had personal experience, attest that "the law in the members" is never eradicated; that the struggle to give the preponderance to the "law of the mind" is lifelong; and that it is presumption, not faith, that would require an intoxicating wine to be used at the Lord's Supper; as it would have been presumption, not faith, a "tempting," not a trusting God, in Jesus, to have violated the law of nature by leaping from the pinnacle of the temple. Hence, reformed inebriates, with one voice, have asked for an unintoxicating wine at the Lord's Supper; and, when this provision has been thought impossible, they have conscientiously abstained often from partaking of the cup.

In meeting this demand of Christian conviction, a large addition to the number of advocates for abstinence as temperance has been called forth; while many have united in seeking an unintoxicating wine. This drift of popular religious conviction has been so strong, as to reach men of eminence in every branch of the Christian Church.

Four years ago it found expression in the Roman Catholic Church. While in Cincinnati, Ohio, Archbishop Purcell commended temperance among German and Irish Catholics, yet declared that beer was needed to give strength to the laborer, quoting, but misinterpreting, Psalm civ. 15 and 2 Macc. xv. 39; in New York city, Archbishop, now Cardinal McCloskey, declared that abstinence from intoxicants was the only true temperance; and he cited Christ's abstinence in the agonies of death as teaching the doctrine. At the same time, in England, Archbishop Manning, as the representative of Roman Catholicism in Great Britain, urged that entire abstinence from all intoxicants was the only hope of saving the Anglo-Saxon and Celtic races from physical and spiritual degeneracy.

In the English Episcopal Church a louder and more united voice has been heard. Some two years since, some conscientious clergymen in the diocese of the Bishop of Lincoln, having em

ployed unfermented wine at the Holy Communion, a prohibition from the bishop was issued until the propriety of such departure from long-established custom could be historically tested. Without question, if that history be sufficiently traced, the custom of the early Church based on the appointment of Christ, and the re-discovery of that appointment by the early English Reformers, will stay the prohibition. This, the inquiry awakened in the mind of such a leader as Canon Farrar most clearly indicates.

In his familiar "Talks on Temperance," just published, in ten platform addresses, Canon Farrar gives his reasons for recently becoming himself an abstainer, and for urging it on the English Church and people, both as a Christian and a national duty. It is interesting to trace, amid his fervid appeals and graphic pictures, a return to the Roman virtue and the New Testament interpretation of the primitive Church reflected from that virtue. He says: "The simple wines of antiquity were incomparably less deadly than the stupefying and ardent beverages on which £150,000,000 are yearly spent in this suffering land. The wines of antiquity were more like syrup; many of them were not intoxicant but in a small degree; and all of them, as a rule, were only taken when largely diluted with water." . . . . "They contained, even when undiluted

but four or five per cent. of alcohol; whereas, our common wines contain seventeen per cent." He refers, indirectly, to the legend of Satan's visit to the vineyard of Noah, already fully quoted from the Talmud. Citing the indirect testimony of artists, he exclaims: "If you would know what your fathers thought, look at Hogarth's ghastliest pictures of Rum Lane and Gin Alley." Of himself, he says: "When a youth, I was mainly a water-drinker. When I was an undergraduate . . . . I never once had a bottle of wine or spirits of any kind in my rooms. When I became a man, ... if I thought of total abstinence at all, I regarded it as a somewhat harmless, but perfectly amiable eccentricity. It was only two years ago that my attention was first seriously called to the enormous evil of drink. . . . . When I came to London, I almost entirely ceased to touch fermented liquor." He proceeds to trace how, step by step, his investigations led him to sign the pledge of life-long abstinence. Still unsettled, however, as to Scripture teaching, he declares: "I shall say this only: that wine means, primarily, only the juice, and often, as I believe, only the unfermented juice of the grape." He quotes statements of eminent English physicians as to the abuse of alcoholic prescriptions; and he cites Captain Webb and the American Weston, as reviving the ab

stinence of the ancient "athletes." He quotes the line of the Latin poet Propertius: "Vino forma perit, vino consumitur ætas," "by wine beauty perishes, by wine age is wasted;" and he dwells on the inconsistency of taking as a guide Byron's example in his confessed follies. Certainly Canon Farrar is preparing the English people to listen to ancient sages who, like himself, argued that abstinence from intoxicating wines was the only "temperance"; and, yet more, he may prepare them for the return to the "unfermented wines" for which he longs, and which in all ages they have found who have earnestly sought them.

In America, the tracts and treatises of many earnest students have each added some new fact in the wide field of historic truth; among which are noteworthy those of Rev. Drs. T. L. Cuyler, H. Johnson, C. H. Fowler, S. K. Leavitt, C. L. Thompson, D. Read, J. C. Holbrook, J. M. Walden, J. B. Dunn, and A. B. Rich; also of Rev. Messrs. F. A. Spencer, H. W. Conant, A. G. Lawson, and A. S. Wells. The treatise of Rev. Dr. Wm. Patton has pierced a specially rich vein of investigation. The volume now submitted to the public was prompted by a criticism on the action of a Presbyterian Synod in Western New York, who, following the lead of many of different denominations in Great Brit-

ain and America, discussed the expediency of introducing "unfermented wine" at the Lord's Supper. It is indicative that inquiry is directed in the pathway of truth when, as in geological explorations, the common trend is seen by all observers alike; and it is only needed that the fundamental fact, to which men in every age have alluded, should be made the clue to the interpretation of their statements.

UNIFORMITY IN FACTS, AND HARMONY IN CONVICTIONS, THE TESTS OF THE DIVINE LAW AS TO WINES.

Uniformity in the action of forces in the Universe, and of organic development in Natural History—since like effects result from like causes—leads to truth in science, and to established physical law. Harmony in human convictions, leadir *g* to common civil customs, is the foundation of moral judgment as to right, and of common law. Continuity in the evolution of cycles, marked, for example, in the out-croppings of geological strata, is the more manifest when breaks reveal on the edges of their dykes the rupture of what was once unbroken. The continuity of recorded history is all the more apparent when the severed parchment-leaves, once stitched into a connected roll, show by the matching needle-holes, and by the words re-

peated at the bottom and top of successive pages, how the writers who penned their several records, matched their work to that of their predecessors. The review of this entire roll on a single point, may, with the aid of personal observation on the Mediterranean shores from the Nile to the Alps, and with the affluent testimonies of eye-witnesses of many an age and language, be made to illustrate this test of the Divine law as to wines.

The visitor in Southern Italy meets a wine called "Lachrymæ Christi," tears of Christ. The name impresses him; its simple origin interests him; and the links of its history cover the life of civilized and redeemed man. It is a Latin name; framed by men believing in Christ and seeking His purity of character and life. At home, or on the Mediterranean shore, the inquirer pulls a ripe grape from its cluster, and presses it gently; when a rounding drop of the clearest, purest nectar gradually oozes, forms into a sphere, separates itself from the protruding pulp, and like a crystal tear-drop, falls to the ground. When caught and collected in a cup, these drops form a fluid which rapidly dries in the sun, becomes a syrup, then a jelly, then a honey, scarcely to be distinguished from the bees' deposits. In fact, it is just this pure saccharine-juice sucked by the bee, not only from

varied flowers in spring, but from varied fruits in autumn, that forms the mass of unfermenting syrup deposited by the bee as honey in its waxen cells, whose perfect likeness to sweet wines, on the one hand, and to syrup on the other, led to the common names, "debsh," in Hebrew, and "meli," in Greek. Those "tears" of the grape can not ferment; for the ferment in the pulp has been separated from the fluid. Centuries ago, in the dark ages recorded by Boland in his "Acts of the Saints," intelligent and pious monks, living on the northern crater-peak of Vesuvius, made an unfermented wine from the rich, sweet grapes of the mountain-side; and, out of love to Christ's example and appointment, they called it "Lachrymæ Christi," tears of Christ.

The wines of that name now met, are sweet, but alcoholic red wines, made for gain anywhere; and their history tells of a degeneracy following the age of the primitive wine.

Forty years ago, the wines of Southern Italy were prepared without skill; the rich wines of the Middle Ages, and the art of preparing them, having been utterly lost. Since that era, modern science, re-applied in art, has re-discovered three facts. First, The neglected vines which yield a grape with large pulp and little sugary juice, which juice, when pressed out, soon fer-

ments, may by culture be made to yield three times the amount of sugary juice. Second, By care, the ferment may be arrested, before it begins, or at any stage of its progress. Third, The best mode of excluding the air from the fresh juice so as to prevent ferment is to pour fresh olive-oil over the top of the jar or flask; leaving it uncorked, that the bubbles of carbonic acid-gas, which arise, may escape through the oil without exposing the grape-juice. And here another age rises and opens to view.

It is now generally agreed that the modern "Lachrymæ Christi" was successor to the old "Roman Falernian," specially celebrated by Horace. The Falernian wines were products of Southern Italy. Horace speaks of different varieties, as the old (Serm. II. iii. 115), the ardent (Od. II. xi. 19, 20), the severe (Od. I. xxvii. 9, 10); and also, of that sweet as the honey of Hymettus (Serm. II. ii. 15, 16); but he dwells more on the Falernian vines (Od. I. xx. 10, and III. i. 43), and on their envied grapes (Od. II. vi. 19, 20). Virgil describes the presses, with strainers, which furnished the pure juice without ferment; as he in youth worked at them. First, There were the foot-vats; in which "the vintage foamed on the full brims," as he with his comrades "tinged the naked ancles with new must" (Geor. II. 6, 8). Second, There was the

twist or torcular press; with its cloth-sacks (cola), its twisting staves (prela); from which, in "great drops" (guttæ), gathered and flowing "as streams" (undæ), the bottles to preserve it were filled (Geor. II. 240-245). So completely did the straining process of the twist-press prevail, that it gave the specific name "torculum," or "torcular," among the "Rustic" writers, to wine-presses in general; as the student of Cato, Varro, Columella and Pliny, whose observations covered three centuries, will note. More than this: Jerome, with incomparable facilities for a correct judgment, finds this method of straining the unfermenting juice from the fermenting pulp, a controlling idea, from Moses to his own day; as his universal use of the neuter-plural adjective "torcularia," or twist-press apparatus, indicates. The Hebrew word "yeqeb," used sixteen times from Num. xviii. 27 to Zech. xiv. 10, refers specifically to the juice-tub, under the spout of the grape-vat in which the grapes are crushed and pressed; as is indicated by the Greek term "hypolenion," under-tub, used Isa. xvi. 10; Joel, iii. 13; Hag. ii. 17, though the general term, "lenos," is used in Num. xviii. 27, and Joel ii. 24, where the allusion is general. Again, the Hebrew word "gath," used five times, refers to the grape-vat in which the grapes were trodden; as the Greek term

"lenos," in the five cases (Jud. vi. 11; Neh. xiii. 15; Isa. lxiii. 2; Lam. i. 15; Joel iii. 13), attests; the latter case being specially significant, as the Hebrew "gath" and "yeqed," and the Greek "lenos" and "hypolenion," are contrasted in the same sentence. This distinction in the Greek is marked in the New Testament allusions (Rev. xiv. 19, 20; xix. 15), where the "treading" is prominent, and "lenos" indicates it; while in Mat. xxi. 33; Mark xii. 1, where the "digging" is prominent, Matthew uses "lenos" the general, and Mark, writing for Romans, "hypolenion" the specific word. Again, the word "poorah," twice used, in (Isah. lxiii. 3; Hag. ii. 17), is the ladle with which the strained must is dipped from the juice-tub into the jars or flasks; as the Greek translators indicate by referring to the "measures" (metretas) in the latter, and to the "staining juice" dipped out in the former case. The fact, now, that Jerome renders these three Hebrew words by the general term "torcularia," twist-press apparatus, indicates that he recognized the universal prevalence under the whole Hebrew history, and in the Christian Church of the first four centuries, of the separation of fermenting pulp from grape-juice.

Pliny, again (Nat. His. xiv. 6), describes the kinds and quality of Falernian wine as it existed

under Augustus, when Horace and Virgil wrote; saying that "of all kinds, it was least calculated to injure the stomach;" a fact to which the "Rustic" writers all allude, and which Galen, the physician of the day, applies in his art. But Pliny, though writing only a century after Virgil, speaks of the adulteration and perversion of the pure Falernian. Of that of one locality, he says: "It has lost its repute through the negligence of the growers;" and of another location: "Latterly they have somewhat degenerated, owing to the rapacity of the planters, who are usually more intent upon the quantity than the quality of their vintage;" in which we can see, as if we were there with Pliny, the strainer pushed aside, the pulp flowing with the pure juice into the vat, and a sadly fermented, instead of an unfermented wine, the result.

But another stage of backward transit brings us to the "protropos" of the Greeks; or the oozing juice of the clusters on the vine caught in pans as it dripped before the harvest. Thence, again, we find ourselves in Egypt; especially in the vintage-scenes pictured on the tomb-walls of Beni Hassan in Upper Egypt, sculptured and painted in the days of Joseph. We scan the two presses, and the method of separating and storing the sugary juice without

the fermenting pulp. The more carefully prepared is that from the small twist-press. A sack, about three feet long, is fastened by a ring at one end to a stout post; a rope at the other end passes through a hole in another post; a strong staff, about four feet long, is turned by three men; while a fourth attends to a large pan into which the juice squeezed from the sack is falling in drops. The larger press is an immense vat in which ten or twelve youths are treading the grapes with their feet. From two orifices, one near the top and the other near the bottom, flow streams of juice. The upper stream, evidently furnished with an inside strainer, as Wilkinson intimates (Anct. Egypt., c. v.), flows into a small tub, whence an attendant dips the fresh and strained must, with a large-nosed scoop, into jars; over which, when filled, another attendant pours from a smaller scoop, what we may now regard fresh oil; while other attendants set away these jars, with or without covers, in the store-house. It is not to be wondered at that minds, having thus before them the connected facts, see in this an explanation of the butler's dream, interpreted by Joseph (Gen. xl. 11), and of the Hebrew "tirosh," familiar to Isaac (Gen. xxvii. 28, 37), whose aperient action Job (xx. 15) illustrates.

While thus the breaks in the records reveal more fully the uninterrupted succession of unfermented wines, variations in the nature, use and effects of fermented wines, make clear their constant law; since these variations can be traced to circumstances of location and of era, which have naturally produced those changes. Among European races the kindred terms "oinos" in Greek, and "vinum" in Latin, have passed into cognate names prevailing in all modern tongues; all of which are generic, as is "wine" in English. In the Semitic family, however, the Hebrew generic word "yayin," apparently kindred to the Greek "oinos," has been superseded in Aramaic, Syriac and Arabic, by the special word "chemer," named from the first-glance appearance of the effervescence seen in ferment. So the terms indicating the *effects* of wines have had meanings varying with the ideas of those who have used them. An American preacher who reports that his London peer "drinks," seems in England to be a slanderer; because the word there, means to use intoxicants excessively, while here it only indicates that one is not an abstainer. So "methusko" meant "sated," when applied to the gods who drank "nectar;" and in the Greek Anthology, it means "drenched," when it is applied to altars soaked with offerings of milk (galakti,

Anth. XI., viii. 3). So, too, the word "shekar," in its changing meanings, makes its employ by Maimonides in the twelfth century, an exception proving a rule. The noun "shekar," according to Castell, means in Hebrew, sometimes, "vinum vetus," old wine, and, sometimes, "vinum commistum," the "edusma," or honey-sweet of the Greek Fathers. In Chaldee, it is "cervisia," ale, made from "barley," or "the juice of apples." In Syriac, it is "saccharum," or the sugary juice of various fruits. In the Gemara, Buxtorf finds it to mean "potus ex hordea coctus," a drink of barley boiled. In the Arabic, Freytag cites instances where it is "a drink from dates (dactylis), from dried grapes (uvis passis), also sugary juice (saccharum)." Long before these lexicographers made their collations, Wickliffe had rendered "sikera" in the New Testament, "cider." In accord with these varied meanings of the noun, the verb "shakar," indicating the effect which led to the name of the drink, is equally varied in signification. In the Hebrew of Jer. xlviii. 26, where its effect is "vomiting," Castell renders it "largius bibit," he drinks too largely; while in the Ethiopic version it is used for the Hebrew "malats," to be "sweet," in Psalm cxix. 103. Indeed, this change in the meaning of "shakar," or rather this illustration of its

adapted signification, occurs in the experience of Noah nigh Ararat as compared with that of Joseph in Egypt; as we have already seen (Gen. ix. 21, and xliii. 35). In Arabic, Freytag finds it applied to the udders of camels and sheep distended with milk. When, then, Maimonides and Bartenora use the word "shakar," to indicate the effect of repeated cups at the Passover, these facts serve to make the exception confirm the rule as to Jewish Passover wine. First, The earlier and later custom of the Jews, shows that the spirit of the twelfth century in Spain was exceptional in Hebrew conviction. Second, The text of the Mishna, written in the second century, gives no warrant for this comment of the Rabbis of the twelfth century. Third, The statements of Maimonides in the "Yad Hachazakah" (II., iii. 2–7), that the Nazarites "sinned against their own souls" in their abstinence, and atonement was required for this sin (Num. vi. 11), while yet he says, "He that is of a heated temperament ought neither to eat meat nor to drink wine"—these extreme statements, both questionable, reveal a mind unfitted for comment on such a subject. Fourth, The very word, "shakar," by which Bartenora and Maimonides indicate the effect of the Passover cup, so different from its meaning in purer ages, is itself a con-

demnation of the spirit of the age which had so perverted the purer custom of their fathers.

It is not surprising, therefore, that such a flood of light dawned on the earnest and laborious Reformers who penetrated more or less into this history of facts. All the translators, Roman and Protestant, Italian, Spanish, French, German, and English, saw in the "tirosh" of the Old Testament, the Grecian "gleukos," and the Roman "mustum." Castell, with the whole range of Syriac and Arabic translations, of the Rabbinic Targums and Talmud, before him, not only rendered "tirosh" must, but he argued that the translation of the Hebrew "cheleb" (Num. xviii. 12) by "aparche" in the Greek, was intended to present the idea of Herodotus (III., 24), and of Xenophon (Hier. iv. 2), which prevailed alike among the early Ethiopians of Central Africa, and of primitive Asiatics; their offerings were "*fresh*," that they might be untainted with decay. Language could not have been constructed more definitely to represent the product of the vine acceptable in religious offerings than that used by Moses when he added a prefix to the unfermented grape-juice offered to the Lord; requiring that it be "the fresh of tirosh." It was natural that this expression, rendered in English by "best of the wine," should recall to Castell and Cocceius

the nature of "the best" wine made by Christ, and, therefore, drunk by Him; and that it should have prevented such men from introducing, from the spirit of "custom," any perversion of the requirements of Christ as to the Supper, imagining that "inebriating wine" should take the place of his own twice-repeated description, "the fruit of the vine."

Another age of desired reformation has dawned. The spirit of men like Luther and Knox, of Howard and Wilberforce, calls for a return to the primitive "fruit of the vine," at the Lord's Supper. Science has well-nigh attained to it in the experiments of Liebig. Christian faith will fully attain to it; for faith is first "the substance of things hoped for;" hope "waits with patience" till study and skill open a "door of hope;" faith then again comes in with the assurance that "the secret of the Lord" —all that He sees needful to honor His word— will be found in His works; faith, thus, becomes "the evidence of things not seen;" and in due time it "works by love" to secure the end it seeks. When attained, unfermented wine at the Supper will certainly be that first appointed by Christ.

Finally, the permanency of the Divine methods for man to learn truth and duty, test the existence of law. The last difficulty of the

Christian inquirer as to the Divine Law of Wines is this: He asks, "If the knowledge of unfermented wines be so important, why has not the New Testament made its nature and the mode of its preparation manifest?" Here, again, truth and its author prove ever the same. First, The Bible was given to reveal spiritual, not material truth; moral duty being impressed when material truth is discovered. Second, Material truth essential to human welfare is discovered when the desire to know moral duty is controlling. Oil and wine in their nature and virtues are in this respect parallel. In warm climates, where medical science seeks to bring disease to the skin, and so eradicate it, anointing with oil is the general specific for cleanliness and health. David awoke to the law by experience (2 Sam. xii. 20); Christ but alluded to it in correction of extreme abstinence (Mat. vi. 17); His apostles recognized that it was a part of the faith that worked miracles (Mark vi. 13); and (James v. 14) left it unexplained, as the law of Christian duty for all time. Just so Noah was left to learn the law of intoxicating wines; Solomon avows that only by experience could he know it; and Timothy, under Paul's tuition for years, was still learning the Divine Law as to Wines. Third, As human virtue in the Brahmin, the Greek and the Roman

was tested by *rational* faith, so the very essence of Christian redemption is Divinely *implanted* faith. Paul, late in his apostolate, defines faith as consisting in two elements. Faith is, first, "the substance of things hoped for;" or the inward "assurance," *a priori*, that an *end* essential to human welfare will be found to have means adequate to its accomplishment. Faith is, second, "the evidence of things not seen;" or the gradual testing, *a posteriori*, by continued observation, what those adequate means are. The great apostle illustrates this by a mere glance at the varied lives of men living through forty centuries: Abel, Noah, Abraham, Moses, David, victors in spiritual conquests down to his day; all of whom were guided and led "by faith." Mankind in Isaac's day had discovered how to obtain unfermented wine by separating the saccharine juice of the grape from the albuminous pulp; the Hebrew patriarchs called it "tirosh" (Gen. xxvii. 28); the Egyptians manufactured it in their upper country; and Joseph's brethren found it to produce an effect indicated by the word "shakar," or full-drinking, as different from Noah's experience as was the wine they drank from that he had made (Gen. ix. 21; xliii. 34). In every age since, when "faith" has led men, first the "hope" for an unintoxicating beverage, and second, the industry to search for

it, that unfermented wine has been re-discovered. To admit that it can not in our day be re-discovered, is to admit that modern science is behind the ancient. To object to the Divine appointment for man's spiritual redemption which makes the effort for that re-discovery a duty, is to discard both science and revelation, and to dishonor both reason and faith.

CONCLUSION.

The writer's task, prolonged through five years, is at length ended. As it was prompted by irresistible convictions of truth, it has been prosecuted as a duty both required and aided by peculiar favoring associations.

The first public lectures of Professor Agassiz, in Washington, D. C., delivered before the Smithsonian Lecture Hall was provided, were in a church audience-room, where the writer officiated. The earliest and latest utterances of Agassiz were those of one seeking Divine law. His profound researches in natural history were often illustrated from Aristotle and Pliny; his special discoveries were sometimes quoted as re-discoveries of Aristotle's; he always alluded to laws of development as Divine plans; and when challenged as to this expression, he exclaimed in almost the very words of the teacher of both Plato and Aris-

totle: "Why not admit that Mind originates new organisms?" Prompted by such a guide, the writer was directed in youth to Aristotle and Pliny as clear expounders of the physical law of what are now styled "Spiritual Manifestations;" and in later years they revealed the science whose mysteries, now hidden, guided Grecian artists.

When the latest Hebrew lexicographer, specially accurate as a student of natural science, was found to have defined the Hebrew "tirosh" as "unfermented wine," Pliny's minute description of the mode of its manufacture gave the clue to all the labyrinths of Biblical and classic literature as it relates to the Divine Law of Wines. Nothing was needed in following out the clue but patient toil, controlled by ordinary balanced intelligence, and by a spirit of Christian candor and charity.

From his earliest connection with the Smithsonian Institution, Prof. Joseph Henry was an intimate friend, and especially an educational counselor. He was a devout Christian believer; seeking harmony between the Divine works and Word. He always referred to great forces in Nature as "God's powers;" and alluding to his own discoveries, so eminently practical in their applications, he said: that "Discoverers and inventors only availed them

selves of God's power to bless mankind." He often referred to Pliny and Aristotle as guides in modern discovery; and his celebrated "Hints to Guide Explorers" were anticipated in Aristotle's Problems. He lived, most of all, to make science aid in the interpretation of the Old and New Testament Scriptures. Two weeks before his death, when at eighty his associates and visitors saw only absorption in his scientific work, in an interview with his old friend, he went over, at length, the chief events of his life, dwelling on one work now nearly complete; when, suddenly turning, with enthusiasm, he exclaimed: "When *that* is attained, I am ready to render up my account!" The new turn of thought, thus introduced, led to many utterances like these: "Man is immortal till his mission is accomplished. Faith in an overruling Providence is scientific. It is when we can look back over the *continuity* of life and of human history that we know this, and see the guiding hand." Truth sought with reverence for its Author, and to promote the welfare of man, His creature, is seldom sought in vain.

He who was "full of truth and grace," guided the pens of Moses and Paul, when they wrote of wines. So much of that "grace" ruled in Paul, the great revealer of Christian "truth,"

that he wrote, "Whereto we have attained, let us walk by the same rule, let us mind the same thing; and, if in anything ye be otherwise minded, God shall reveal even this to you." John, specially noted for "grace," said in his old age of some who presented new truth: "We ought to receive such; that we might be fellow-helpers to the truth." If Christian men, at the present crisis of thought on the Divine Law of Wines, catch the spirit of these veteran apostles, the truth will be reached, and duty will be met.

The three cuts present three distinct processes in the most ancient modes of preparing unfermented wines, alluded to on pages 46, 54–57, and described on pages 310–313. They are copied from sculptures in relief, richly painted, found on the walls of tombs at Beni Hassan, in Upper Egypt. They are found in the volumes of Sir Gardner Wilkinson and were carefully studied by the writer in February, 1848. The tombs have, at their entrance, the cartouche of Osirtasen I., the Pharaoh of Joseph's day.

Fig. 1 presents the twist-press, the "torcular" of the Romans, and specially illustrates the *straining* of the saccharine from albuminous ingredients in grape-juice; the cloth of the sack preventing the pulpy albumen from passing out

FIG. 1.

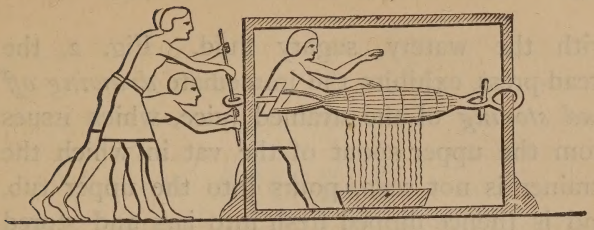


FIG. 2.

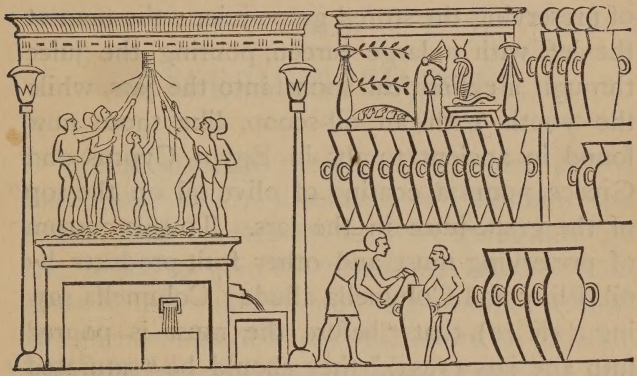
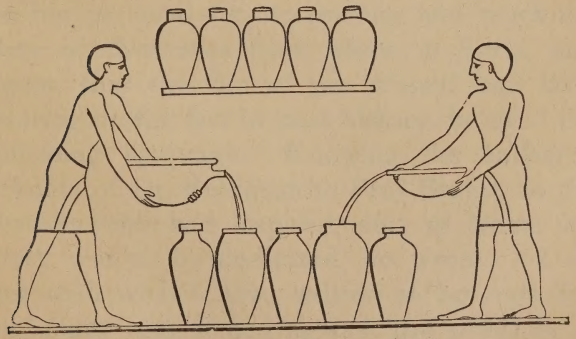


FIG. 3.



with the watery, sugary fluid. Fig. 2, the tread-press, exhibits the immediate *drawing off and storing* of the strained juice, which issues from the upper spout of the vat in which the strainer is not seen, pours into the upper tub, and is thence dipped fresh into jars and stored in the wine-vault. Fig. 3 shows the mode of preserving the stored grape-juice; the man at the left with a large tureen, pouring the juice through a cylindrical spout into the jars, while the youth with an oil-scoop, like those now found in ancient tombs in Egypt, Cyprus, and Greece, pours a coating of olive oil on the top of the grape-juice in the jars. To this custom of preserving must and other fruit-products by oil, Pliny and Columella allude; Columella saying (xii. 19) that "before the must is poured into the jars (vasa)," they should be "saturated with good oil."

SCIENCE
THE INTERPRETER OF HISTORY
AS TO
UNFERMENTED WINE.

When, in 1840, the Rev. Eli Smith, as the interpreter of Dr. Robinson in Palestine, was asked, while his Researches were going through the press, to give his testimony whether non-intoxicating wines existed in Palestine, with all the earnestness of a true missionary he urged in his reply two requests. Clearly perceiving that the question of *fact* should not be made to bear on his personal duty to practise and teach the duty of abstinence from wines in Syria, and again, that the fact of the *present* had little bearing on the fact in past history, he used the following language. Knowing the endeared relation of Dr. Robinson to Prof. Stuart, as the teacher who had inspired, and to whom his work was to be dedicated, he wrote: "I do not wish what I have written to be regarded as in any way aimed against the principle of

the American Temperance Union." Knowing, moreover, that he had himself been but a subordinate to Dr. Robinson in furnishing one class of information necessary in his historic researches, and that Dr. Robinson regarded Prof. Stuart his superior in the philological study which the question of the past involved, he added: "A person who has never been in Palestine is as capable of judging as myself."

In the revived discussion, begun by Prof. Moses Stuart and prosecuted by Profs. Tayler Lewis and George Bush and by Dr. Wm. Patton, the question whether unfermented wines can or do exist is one purely of fact; with which inferences as to personal duty are not to be confounded. The tests of chemical science applied to wine-making, found chiefly in the south of France, where the old customs of Roman vintage still prevail, and the interpretation of Roman writers on wines found among French scientists, must guide investigation and control decision. In two respects the time for impartial research is most favorable. In England, where the books that first inspired Prof. Stuart's investigations appeared, the influence of the "Church Temperance Society," so nobly represented by Mr. Graham, one of its secretaries, has enlisted the coöperation of Conservatives and Liberals in politics; of High, Broad and

Low Churchmen; of eight out of thirty bishops who are abstainers, with many that are not; whose influence has secured the suppression of beer-shops and the establishment of coffee-houses in cities and towns throughout England, and has arranged for the administration of the communion in wine free from alcohol in the case of all who desire it. In the City of New York, too, the earnest supporters of the National Temperance Society coöperate with esteemed leaders in the suppression of drinking-houses. The secular press recognize the popular demand; one leading daily extolling the statesmen of France, who urge alike by example and by legislation the suppression of the use and sale of intoxicating wines; another following up its revelations as to the drugging of imported wines; yet another commending the effort to furnish safe resorts for laborers, obliged at their noon-day rest to seek a winter shelter in beer-shops, where they are forced to squander for drink what they would gladly save for their families; while all commend the reform begun at Washington by President Jackson in furnishing no intoxicants to native visitors, but only urge its provision, if at all, for diplomats at State dinners. Certainly, then, if an unintoxicating wine, kindred to the coffee sought for laboring men, can be furnished for the tables

where fashion rules—if, indeed, such wines did exist among the Romans, and were sought because the sons of families less robust than the sons of toil most need the safeguard—certainly, then, every father, every educator, every patriot, every Christian, will join the search for the needed boon.

THE TWO PROPOSITIONS OF PROF. STUART.

With logical precision, Prof. Stuart, after careful consideration and research, laid down these two syllogistic propositions: "Whenever the Scriptures speak of wine as a comfort, a blessing, or a libation to God, and rank it with such articles as corn and oil, they mean, they can mean, *only such wine as contained no alcohol that could have a mischievous tendency.*" Again: "Facts show that the ancients not only preserved their wines unfermented, but regarded it as of a higher flavor and finer quality than fermented wine. There is no ancient custom with a better amount and character of proof than this." The first proposition is a major premise, assumed as a conclusion which the common conviction of men will allow; its testimony, to Prof. Stuart's mind, being this: that to suppose the contrary implies that "God's word and works are at variance." The second proposition is a minor premise: a question of

fact to be established by the tests of science, which tests must consist of two classes. First: if the interpretation of ancient historic records be so doubtful that assurance can not be reached, the light of modern chemical science, as it relates to the laws of fermentation, must be brought in; the direct test of experiment must solve the question whether grape juice can be preserved permanently free from alcoholic fermentation, and the testimonies of skillful wine-makers, in the land where wine-making has been an uninterrupted art since the times of the Roman writers, must be traced. All will admit that the satisfactory decision as to the first proposition rests in part on this first class of testimonies. Second: philological science, now specially advanced, through the common usage of successive ages, preserved in lexicons and in translations of and annotations upon classic and sacred writings, must be able to demonstrate the fact that the terms for products of the grape in the Hebrew of the Old Testament and the Greek of the New Testament justify the assertion made in Stuart's first proposition.

THE OBJECTIONS TO STUART'S TWO PROPOSITIONS.

One of the earliest and ablest statements opposed to Prof. Stuart's view appeared in the *Princeton Review* for April, 1841; the article

consisting of a criticism on two essays, entitled, the one "Bacchus," and the other "Anti-Bacchus," called forth by a prize of one hundred sovereigns offered in England; the latter of which had been republished from the English edition by the American Temperance Union at New York. The article commends the work of Father Mathew in Ireland, and of Rev. Robert Baird, the American apostle, on the Continent in Europe. It interprets the statements of Roman writers on wines ably, yet without the light of modern French research; and it calls out, for the first time, the testimony of Rev. Eli Smith above cited. This early critique has been since followed by the works cited in the "Divine Law as to Wines" (pp. 247–259) up to the time of its issue, early in 1880. The following important articles have since that time appeared.

DR. RICH'S SUPPORT OF STUART'S FIRST PROPOSITION.

It is significant that the "Bibliotheca Sacra," enriched in the past by men like Stuart and Robinson, after publishing articles with testimonies from missionary reporters as to modern facts from 1846 to 1869, has given a hearing to both sides in the discussion on Bible wines during the past year. In the numbers for January, April, and October, 1880, appears an essay

in three parts from Dr. A. B. Rich, whose former writings have been among the publications of the National Temperance Society. Dr. Rich assumes as self-evident the first proposition of Stuart, and regards its assumption as justified by that of Newton; whose first law of motion, though it can not be directly demonstrated, if denied, would involve a contradiction of all instinctive human convictions. His statement is thus framed (Bib. Sac., Jan., 1881, p. 114): "Here, then, is the rational and righteous basis for the discriminating statutes of God. The beverage that was characterized by power to produce a sensible stimulation, a nervous excitement, was forbidden; the beverage that satisfied a natural appetite, and afforded strength without stimulation, was commended." This proposition is sustained by two classes of testimonies: first, that alcohol is not nutritious (pp. 100–106); second, that the Hebrews had two classes of wines, "the nutritive and the alcoholic." Thirteen products of the grape mentioned in the Old Testament are considered (pp. 115–121), and five classes of cases coming under the generic term "yayin" are traced in the remainder of the essay. These are, first, cases where "yayin" is manifestly nutritive (pp. 122–129); second, where it is probably nutritive (pp. 129–132); third, where it is alcoholic (pp.

305–312); fourth, where its nature is doubtful (pp. 312–314); fifth, where it is employed in religious rites or is abstained from for religious reasons (pp. 314, 315). His special conclusion is thus stated: "There is no threatening, or prohibition, or visitation of judgment, as I can remember, based on the discrimination between an excessive and a limited or temperate use (as it is called) of intoxicants." After a review of the New Testament, Dr. Rich concludes with a statement that this conviction is in accordance with the position of Luther in the opening of the Reformation; that what is not of God, and in His Word, must fail.

DR. MOORE'S ARGUMENT OPPOSING STUART'S PROPOSITIONS.

In the *Presbyterian Review* for January, 1881, Dr. Dunlop Moore takes ground in his opening paragraph (p. 79) against Stuart's first proposition; while in the second he denies that any of the early Christian commentators, or of the scholars of the Reformation, sustain Stuart's second proposition. This latter statement refers to the entire list of citations made in the "Divine Law as to Wines"; but, as the writer does not again refer to this simple denial, there is no occasion for reply. Proceeding, then, to his argument opposed to Stuart's first proposition,

Dr. Moore (pp. 80–83) urges that the Scriptures constantly both commend and condemn the same thing; as in their statements as to the "tongue," as to "knowledge," and as to "marriage"; while they present diverse aspects of the character of God and of Christ. Hence he argues that the same may be true as to their statements about wines; and he proceeds to cite from the Talmud, from Pliny, from Plato and from Solomon statements as to wines which seem to justify his conclusiom. He intimates the "untrustworthiness" of the quotations from Pliny in the "Divine Law as to Wines," and he censures, as "irreverent and reckless," Dr. Fowler's comment on Prov. xxiii. 29–35, of which he gives a new translation, sustaining it by Scripture citations (pp. 83–87). He censures also the "very confident writers and speakers" who at this day condemn "the old commentators and moralists" who made the distinction "between the use and abuse of wine"; citing Dr. Rich's statement (Bib. Sac., Apr. 1880, p. 318), and especially the comments of Lees and Burns in the "Temperance Commentary." He urges that Christ drank the wine from which John abstained; that he made wine at a wedding; that he appointed intoxicating wine for the supper: and he criticises Lees and Burns on Luke xxi. 34, Eph. v. 18, and also Dr. Rich on 1 Tim. iii. 8, and v. 23,

quoting Pliny, Celsus and Dioscorides in support of his view (pp. 87–93). On p. 90 he quotes part only of Pliny's statement (xxiii. 18) as to "mustum" used medicinally. He proceeds then to proof that "every kind" of "yayin," or wine, "known in Palestine" might be used "by the pious Israelites." He cites Neh. v. 18, 19 as ancient proof; he quotes the report brought in 1878 by Rev. Wm. Taylor from missionaries in Palestine, and the written statement in May, 1875, of American and British missionaries in Syria to this effect: "We have never seen or heard of an unfermented wine"; and he severely censures the writers of "The Wines of the Bible," and of "The Divine Law as to Wines," as having incorrectly stated the facts (pp. 93–97). He intimates (in referring to the statement in the latter volume that the best Arabic lexicographers define "sherbets" as "wine") that the "little learning" of the writer misguided him; and that due credit had not been given to the statements of the missionaries whose testimonies were presented in America from 1846 to 1869, and in Scotland in 1875–'6 (pp. 97–100). Stating his conclusion that "the question of modern wines is thus disposed of," Dr. Moore proceeds to citations and translations, especially from the Roman writers "de Re Rustica," or on Agriculture, and from Pliny's

Natural History; which he thinks fail to sustain the existence of "unfermented wines" in the time of Christ and of His apostles. He insists, rightly, on Pliny, B. xiv., c. 7, that wine is commended in its medicinal uses (p. 101); he criticises Dr. Lees' interpretation of B. xiv., c. 11 on the conversion of must into wine (p. 101); he cites Varro, B. i., c. 65, as showing that must, by fermentation, is converted into wine (p. 102); and he quotes (p. 103) Pliny, B. xiv., c. 19, 20, condemning Dr. Laurie (Bib. Sac., xxvi., p. 166) for omitting "que"; and he insists that this, like the other passages cited, shows that the Romans did not class any form of "must" among "wines." He alludes to, but does not quote, Cato, c. 120, and Columella, B. xii. c. 29, comparing them with Pliny, B. xiv., c. 19; and, while admitting that the grape-juice preserved as described remained "must," though "*not longer than a year*," he censures the writer of the "Divine Law as to Wines" for intimating that this "must" was classed as a "wine" (pp. 103–4). He refers to the "protropum," Pliny, B. xiv., c. 2 (p. 104) as not wine; to the "murrhina" or "murrata," as classed by Pliny, "not as among wines (vina), but among sweets (dulcia)"; and he argues that "sobriam," in the mention of "inerticula," Pliny, B. xiv., 4, is used by the writers, "not of the wine, but of the

grape" from which it was made (pp. 104–5). He criticises the citation by Rev. Wm. T. Thayer, in his "Communion Wine," of Aristotle, Meteor, B. iv., c. 9; and cites Wilson's "Wines of the Bible," as showing "that the sweet wine" did not deserve "to be called wine" until it had undergone a partial fermentation; and also that it is "only in a *comparative* sense, and not absolutely, his statement as to its non-intoxicating character is to be taken" (p. 106). He censures Rev. C. H. Fowler for his statement in his "Wines of the Bible" that "boiled wines" were unintoxicating; and sets over against his allusion to Horace's mention of the Lesbian wine (Carm., L. i., 17) as "innocens" the caution of Clement to Christians (Paed. B. ii., c. 2) as to "the pleasant-breathing Lesbian" (pp. 106–108). He criticises the view of the effect of the "filter," Pliny, B. xxiii., c. 24, taken by the Rev. B. Parsons in his "Anti-Bacchus" and in his "The Wine Question Settled," as also the same view taken in the Temperance Commentary; and he cites the following disconnected sentence from Berzelius' "Traité de Chimie," quoted in the *Princeton Review*, April, 1841, p. 298, to this effect: "It is not until the fermentation is considerably advanced that the gluten is precipitated in such quantity that it can be so separated by the filter

as to prevent entirely the further fermentation of the liquor" (p. 108). He cites (pp. 110, 111) Columella, B. xii., c. 27, to show that "vinum" and "mustum" are in Latin usage distinct; he also cites Columella, xii., 25 and 29, preceding and following, as sustaining this view; and in a note makes this only allusion to the Hebrew "tirosh" and the Greek "gleukos": "In summer weather, in a very few hours a considerable quantity of alcohol is formed in the purest grape-juice if exposed to the air. Accordingly, *Tirosh*, must, or new wine, is treated in the Old Testament as an intoxicant (Hos. iv. 11), and so is the corresponding Greek word *Gleukos* in the New Testament (Acts ii. 13)." He criticises Dr. Lees' statement in his "Wines, Ancient and Modern," whose comment on Columella xii., 27, is to this effect: "The grapes were spread out to the heat of the sun long enough to thicken the juice to the degree known to produce fermentation"; and he cites the supposed counter-testimony of Redding on Wines, p. 55: "Grapes were anciently trodden, after being exposed on a level floor to the action of the solar rays for ten days, and were then placed in the shade for five days more, in order to mature the saccharine matter. This practice is still followed in certain cases in one or two of the islands of the Greek Archipelago; at St. Lucar, in Spain; in Italy, at least

in Calabria; and in a few of the northeastern departments of France. The fermentation is facilitated greatly by this process." He cites also Rev. Eli Smith's statement (Bib. Sac., Jan., 1869), which he deems to the same effect. He finally (p. 112) criticises the use made of Herodotus' statement (L. ii., c. 37) that "oinos ampelinos" was used by the priests of Egypt, and contends that it indicates simply "wine of the vine," as does "oinos ex kritheōn" (ii., 77) wine of barley, and "oinos phoinikēïos" (ii., 86) palm-wine.

Each of these citations, interpretations, criticisms, and inferences will be noticed in its proper connection in presenting the scientific, philological, and historical testimonies which establish the second proposition of Stuart, and thus demonstrate his first proposition.

HORACE BUMSTEAD'S ARGUMENT AS TO STUART'S PROPOSITIONS.

In the Bibliotheca Sacra for January, 1881, appears a conservative article by Horace Bumstead, now issued in a pamphlet. In a fair review of the latest statements of Drs. Parker, Anstie, Hammond, Richardson, Binz, and others, he regards their combined authority as indicating that, though concentrated alcohol is a poison, in solution it creates heat by decompo-

sition in the human system, and is in special cases of medicinal value. Reviewing Grecian and Hebrew wines, he distinguishes between "gleukos" as must, "oinos glukos" as in itself sweet, and "oinos edus" as not-acid; he thinks "tirosh" not a beverage, and admits that "yayin" was generic; and he accepts the ancient interpretation, instead of Alford's, of Acts ii. 13, that "gleukos" was not intoxicating. He argues that as "rain," though a blessing, was a curse in excess, so with wine; he thinks that there is an argument in the apparent fact, indicated in the cases of Samson, Samuel, and John, that abstainers, as a rule, are not so for life; but states as his conclusion these four principles as to the duty of abstinence: First, abstinence is a duty as to excess in quantity or quality; second, in men unable to drink with moderation; third, in those whose example might entice the physically weak; fourth, in those who might grieve the morally conscientious. Certainly there is a common recognition of truth, and a common ground of coöperation, here indicated.

STUDIES THAT LED TO THE "DIVINE LAW AS TO WINES."

The statement which follows seems called for by criticisms passed on this latest issue of the

National Temperance Society. Familiar in boyhood with Gill's Talmudic citations, with Jahn's Hebrew Archæology, and like works, having received a special training for seven years under Dr. Hackett in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, five years were given to special preparation for a journey in the East, made in the years 1847–8. The works on Egypt of Napoleon's savants, and of Champollion, Rossellini, and Wilkinson were made familiar; the French, Italian, and Arabic languages were studied for ordinary intercourse; and special letters from Secretary Marcy and President Polk gave introduction to French and English as well as to American authorities, which secured access to varied sources of information. Six months were passed between Alexandria and Beyroot; an entire week being given to Thebes alone, where Lepsius had just opened new tombs. Companions of high official station, such as the Comte de Gasparin, were associates, sometimes for weeks; and many special fields have since been reviewed.

Intercourse with eminent statesmen, and the duty of instruction to law students in ethics, impressed the rule of seeking experts as the interpreters of records; and hence the resort to German and French authorities in forming a judgment as to the meaning of terms relating to

wines and their preparation; which terms are found in the succession of tongues that serve as so many links in preserving and explaining ancient records by modern traditions. Associated in educational work, partly as colleagues and partly as advisers, with men like Profs. Gale, Page, and Henry, the habit of thorough collation of facts, as well as of testing conclusions by experiment, was formed. Both these rules of study were called into requisition in the research required to find that harmony among witnesses as to truth which can be traced in all preserved records which treat of wines.

SCIENTIFIC TEST OF THE LAW OF UNFERMENTED WINES.

Aided by the scientific collections of the Smithsonian Institution and of the Astor Library, the laws of fermentation were drawn out, and afterwards were submitted to Dr. L. D. Gale, Professor of Chemistry at the University of the City of New York and Prof. Morse's electrician during the years 1833 to 1839, and Examiner of Patents at Washington, D. C., from 1847; whose statement is as follows: "I have examined with care Dr. Samson's 'Divine Law as to Wines.' The laws of alcoholic fermentation in wine-making, as stated by chemists, are correctly presented. The view that the fermenting element is in the

pulp, not in the saccharine juice of the grape, is accordant with fact; and the conclusion that, if entirely separated, alcoholic ferment would not occur, is legitimate. The fact that the Romans, before Christ's day, and that the Egyptians, before Moses wrote, had, by straining the juice of the grape, obtained an unfermented wine, seems to be established by historic citations."

To test both the Egyptian and Roman methods, in October, 1879, two phials were filled with juice of Catawba grapes, carefully strained from the pulp. One was covered with a film of olive-oil, and set away in a closet; and the other was corked and sealed, and then kept forty days in cold water. The sealing of the latter was left to another hand; a slight portion of air remained between the cork and the juice, as the cork was not forced home in the neck of the phial; and thus, fortunately for the double test, the demonstration of two principles noted by French chemists followed. Had the isolation from air been equally perfect in each case, the result should have been precisely the same, since the saccharine juice in both phials was from the same cluster, and alike separated from the pulp; while, moreover, the second, during the first forty days, was kept below the fermenting temperature by cold water On the 31st January, 1881, one year and four

months from the time of preparation, the two bottles were placed in the hands of Dr. Charles S. Allen, a graduate, in 1874, from the Columbia College School of Mines; afterwards appointed Professor of Chemistry at Lewisburg University, Penn., on the recommendation of Dr. C. F. Chandler, Dean, and of Prof. C. A. Joy, Ph.D., of the School of Mines; and now a medical practitioner in New York City. Meanwhile, like that of the ancient Romans and modern French hereafter described, the juice retained its original clear crystal color and consistency, with a slight sediment. The result of analysis is stated in the following note:

N.W. cor. 85th St. and 4th Ave., NEW YORK,
February 12, 1881.

DR. G. W. SAMSON.

DEAR SIR:

I wish to certify that I have tested two specimens of grape-juice, which you left with me, for alcohol. The juice in one of the bottles was covered with oil; and the other bottle, which contained the same, had been sealed with wax. I wish to state, also, that in the wax-sealed bottle the cork, being too large, was but half in the neck of the bottle, and that the sealing was imperfect; and that there was about half an inch of air in this bottle above the juice.

I did not find any alcohol present in the juice which was covered with oil; but the juice in the wax-sealed bottle was found to contain a little alcohol, the per cent. of which I did not determine. The test employed was prepared by E. W. Davy; which test detects the presence of one-tenth of one per cent. of alcohol.

I am yours truly,

CHAS. S. ALLEN, Ph.B., M.D.

TESTIMONY OF PASTEUR ON ARRESTING FERMENT.

During the progress of the test thus described, Prof. E. Waller, Ph.D., of the School of Mines, who was consulted, directed attention to the recently published experiments of Pasteur on fermentation, as substantiating the general theory on which the experiment was made. The work, in the Astor Library, is entitled, "Etudes sur la Bière," etc., "avec une Théorie Nouvelle de la Fermentation. Par M. L. Pasteur. Paris, 1876." The author was led to the publication, after years of practical study on behalf of German brewers and of French vintners, in search of methods for arresting "ferments de maladie," or diseased, as opposed to healthful ferment; so likely to occur in the manufacture of beers, as also in "must" made into wine during the early, or summer vintage. His theory of fermentation is substantially this, as derived from careful tests: that the microscopic spores of plant organisms which float in the air and fall upon substances subject to fermentation, which he found to abound in water in which the outside skin of grape-clusters had been washed, may be excluded by shutting off contact with the air; or they may have their fructifying powers in the fermenting substance destroyed by heat. The special tests used by

Pasteur, so far as they bear on the possibility of obtaining unfermented wine, are found in sect. III., pp. 53–57. Pasteur prepared forty small glass bulbs with minute projecting tubes; and, having heated the bulbs so as to expel floating "corpuscules organisés," or microscopic spores, he inserted the open ends of the tubes, through the skin of the well-ripened grapes, into the saccharine juice; so that when the bulbs cooled they sucked in saccharine juice sufficient to half fill them, while the air, thus reduced in quantity by cooling, was free from plant-germs. With this collection of "gouttes de jus intérieur," styled "moût de raisin filtré, parfaitement limpide," four classes of experiments were then tried, whose nature is sufficiently indicated by Pasteur's statement of the results. First: "Grape-must (le moût de raisin) never ferments in contact with air deprived of the germs which are found suspended in it." Second: "Grape-must boiled (cuit) ferments when there is introduced into it a very little quantity of wash-water from the surface of the grape-berries (d'eau de lavage de la surface de grains de raisins"). Third: "Grape-must does not ferment after there has been introduced into it that wash-water raised to the temperature of boiling and then cooled." Fourth: "Grape-must does not ferment when there is introduced a very

small quantity of the interior juice of the grape-berry (du suc interieur d'un grain de raisin"). In this connection, Pasteur refers for confirmation to experiments reported to the "Académie des Sciences," and recorded in the "Comptes Rendus, t. lxiii., p. 1425, 1871"; also to this statement of Gay Lussac in the "Annales de Chimie, t. lxxvi., p. 245," reported "Dec. 3, 1810": "Je conclus que la fermentation du moût de raisin ne peut commencer sans le secours de gaz oxigène": I conclude that the fermentation of grape-must can not commence without the aid of oxygen gas.

BERZELIUS, THE SWEDISH CHEMIST, IN HARMONY.

The Swedish chemist Berzelius, who was eminent from 1806 to his death in 1848, the author of the modern symbolic nomenclature of chemistry, showed his truly scientific spirit by his appreciation of the discoveries of others. His volumes, completed from 1806 to 1818, were soon translated into German, French, and other languages. The volume cited in the *Princeton Review* of April, 1841, is the first French edition; the second French edition, with the author's special approval, having been published at Paris in 1845. Besides several successive editions of his great work, Berzelius contributed for many years, in the French An-

nual Report on the Progress of the Sciences, the leading articles on Physics and Chemistry. The citation in the *Princeton Review* of 1841, a part of which Dr. Moore translates, though the passage, for some reason, is omitted in later editions of Berzelius, is in harmony with modern progress, and with the statements of Roman writers, as to the effects of filtration; while later statements of Berzelius sustain Pasteur's citation from Gay Lussac. The citation of the *Princeton Review* is as follows: "Si l'on filtre la liqueur qui fermente quand elle est arrivée à un certain point, par exemple au quart de l'époque de la fermentation, le liquid transparente, qui passe au travers du filtre, ne fermente pas; mais au bout de quelque temps, il recommence à se troubler et á fermenter, quoique plus lentement qu'auparavant. Si l'on filtre la liqueur quand l'operation est plus avancé, la fermentation s'arrete completement." "If the liquor which is fermenting be filtered when it has arrived at a certain point, for example at a quarter of the time of fermentation, the transparent liquid which passes through the filter does not ferment; but at the end of some time it begins again to be disturbed and to ferment, although more gently than before. If the liquor is filtered when the operation is more advanced the fermentation is completely arrested." It is

manifest that these facts are thus established: first, that grape-juice, when one-fourth fermented, may be made a transparent liquid by the straining out of the fermenting pulp; and, second, that the ferment may be *entirely* arrested if the ferment be allowed to proceed beyond one-fourth. Inasmuch as by bottling at these different stages the amount of alcohol may be reduced to any extent desired by the wine-maker, it is reasonable to suppose that it may be *wholly* arrested if bottled and guarded before the first ferment begins. The *doubt* as to this inference is expressed by the following sentence; which alone is quoted by Dr. Moore: "En outre, il resulte de l'experience dont je viens de parler, que la portion precipitée du gluten est seule propre à dévelloper la fermentation; et si tout ce qui pouvait être precipité l'a été avant filtration, le sucre qui reste dans la liqueur n'est plus detruit." "Further, it results from the experiment of which I have just spoken that the precipitated portion of the gluten is alone suited to develop fermentation; and if all that which could be precipitated has been before filtration, the sugar which remains in the liquor is no longer destroyed." Certainly Berzelius was approaching the result attained by Pasteur, for none but an expert could translate his language without having had the experience it implies.

The philological, as well as scientific student should observe Berzelius' distinction between "troubler" and "fermenter"; whose importance will be hereafter noted.

These early results attained by Berzelius were followed up to yet advanced conclusions. In his "Reports" for 1840, Berzelius maintained his own theory of fermentation, called in the admirable analysis of Dr. Carpenter, the "contact" theory as against the "physical," or molecular theory, advocated by Liebig in 1839; both of which are supplanted by the "physiological" theory of Helmholtz brought out in 1843, which led on to the "germ" theory of Pasteur, first presented about 1863, and newly illustrated in his work, above cited, in 1876. In his reports for 1842, Berzelius, in noticing experiments of Saussure on vinous fermentation, states: "On sait d' après des experiences de M. Gay Lussac qu'un suc vegetal sucré n'entre pas en fermentation quand il est privé du contact de l'air; que la quantité d'air necessaire pour mettre la fermentation au train est très petite; et qu'une fois la fermentation commence elle continue sans interruption." "It has been known since the experiments of Mr. Gay Lussac that a sugary vegetable juice does not enter upon fermentation when it is deprived of contact with the air; that the quantity of air necessary to put fermentation

in train is very little; and when once fermentation commences it continues without interruption." Berzelius then goes on to state that the experiments of M. de Saussure show "that the juice of the grape absorbs under the press the quantity of air necessary to determine fermentation."

It is manifest that the Swedish chemist, residing generally at Stockholm, dependent on men of science in wine regions for coöperation in his own experiments, never allowed the weakness of self-sufficiency, so lamented by Bacon as an impediment to the progress of science, to lead him to adhere to theories superseded by the observations of men in more favorable fields. Had he been permitted the privilege of Pasteur, he might have reached his results. In fact, like Pancoucke, he might have actually found perpetuated among the descendants of the old Romans in the South of France hereditary arts of wine-making that would have led him back to old Roman wines known in the palmy days of Italian vine-growing; wine sought from motives of Roman virtue by men like Cato and Columella, but wines which amid imperial luxury, even in Pliny's day, had begun to degenerate and become unknown.

OLD ROMAN UNFERMENTED WINES NOW IN THE SOUTH OF FRANCE.

Some of the French medical writers have brought out the fact that unfermented wines are still made at special localities in the South of France, where old Roman words as well as arts still prevail. In the "Dictionnaire des Sciences Medicales," presenting the researches of a society of sixty-one physicists and physicians, including Cuvier, Bayle, Gall, R. Collard, etc., collected by Pancoucke, and filling sixty volumes, published at Paris in 1822, there is found under the word "Vin" this statement: "On donne le nom de *vins muets*, ou *mutés*, à ceux qui sont faits avec du moût, dont on a fait empêché, non seulement la première fermentation, mais encore la seconde. Pour obtenir ces vins on a soin, à mesure que la moût coule du pressoir, d'en mettre une petite quantité dans les barriques où l'on fait bruler du soufre. Dans quelques-uns de nos provinces meridionales, où ces vins se preparent, on y ajoute du sucre brut, et on brasse le tout à force de bras, ajoutant nouveau moût et de la vapeur sulfureuse, jusqu'à ce que la liqueur ne donne aucune signe de fermentation; on y revient à plusieurs reprises et à chaque on diminue la dose de soufre; quand la liqueur est bien reposée, on la soutire; elle de

vient claire, limpide, et brilliante comme de l'eau de vie. Cette merchandise est expediée dans les pays froids où on sert de corriger l'acidité des vins trop verts, à fabriquer des vins de toute piéce, et à masquer le goût acre et insupportable des eaus-de-vie de grains et de pommes-de-terre; ainsi que je l'ai vue a Strasbourg. C'est à tort qu'on lui a donné le nom de *vin muet*, puis qu'il lui manque le principe spiritueux qui constitue l'essence de vin, et l'on doit plus proprement la designer sous celui de *moût clarifié*. Du reste, ce moût ne conserve pas toujours la douceur; car, dès que les chaleurs du printemps se font sentir, il commence à fermenter, il perd sa douceur, et devient un veritable vin." The interest connected with this product, still called by a Roman name, the mistake as to its nature and history indicated in the allusion in the *Princeton Review* for April, 1841, justifies the insertion of the entire statement, which may be thus rendered into English: "The name of *dumb*, or *mute* wines, is given to those which are made from must whose first as well as second fermentation has been prevented. In order to obtain these wines, care is taken, as the must flows from the press, to place a small quantity of it in casks in which sulphur has been burned. In some of our southern provinces, where these wines are prepared, raw sugar is added, and it

is stirred by hand, while new must and sulphur vapor is added, until the liquor gives no sign of fermentation; the process is repeated, and at each the dose of sulphur is diminished; when the liquor is well settled they draw it off; it becomes clear, transparent, and sparkling, like brandy. This article of trade is forwarded to cold countries, where it serves to correct the acidity of wines too raw, to manufacture wines in every style of putting up, and to mask the sharp and pungent taste of corn and potato-brandies, as I have seen at Strasbourg. It is wrong to have given to it the name *dumb wine*, since there is wanting in it the spirituous principle which constitutes the essence of wine; and it ought properly to be designated under the name of *clarified must*. Besides, this must does not preserve always its sweetness; for, when the heat of spring makes itself felt, it begins to ferment, it loses its sweetness, and it becomes a veritable wine." The important points, linking this to earlier and especially to Roman historic records, which prove the real existence of old Roman unfermented wines, are these: The term "mutés," an old Provençal, or Roman provincial word, is a relic of Roman times; and the fact that the common people called this preparation of must *wine*, though it had no "spirituous principle," is suggestive, if not demonstra-

tive, as will be seen. Again, the fact is established that the first and second fermentation may be prevented simply by the use of sulphur vapor; so that there will be no alcohol formed, provided the liquor be kept in winter cold. The dispute as to a *name* for what the people call "wine" is of no account, since the *character of the article* is recognized by men of mere *science;* while the people's name for the article is a matter for the philologian to investigate. The parallel will be found in Aristotle, with his more logical conclusion clearly stated.

The "Dictionnaire universal de Matiére Médicale," Paris, 1832, in six volumes, restricted to consideration of matters pertaining to "Materia Medica," treats specially of the medical uses of wines and musts. Under the word "Vitis," vine, the preparation of "Raisin-wines" is described; and the history of the use of wine as a beverage (usage alimentaire du vin) is traced. Plato by law would prohibit it to young men under twenty-two years; Aristotle interdicted it to nurses (nourrices); and Pliny recorded how the old Romans restricted its use. It is then stated: "On appelle *vins mousseaux* les vins dont, on a intercepté, ou supprimé à dessein, la fermentation sensible"; they call foaming wines the wines in which sensible fermentation has been intercepted, or suppressed by design. Aft-

er this statement follow the details of making effervescing wines, as in Champagne; in which the reversing of the bottles so as to allow the sediment to gather over the cork, and thus the better exclude the air, is mentioned; at which point this statement is made: "Le contact de l'air etant necessaire à la fermentation," contact with the air being necessary to fermentation. Here it is of importance in the study of Roman methods of making wine, to note that two distinctions appear between this and the former statement of the method of making "*vins mutés*," which have *no* alcoholic property; first there is a "sensible" fermentation, the idea indicated by "troubler" in Berzelius, distinct from *complete* fermentation; and, second, the *preventing* of fermentation, before it begins, forms an un-alcoholic wine, while the *intercepting* and *suppressing* of fermentation, after it has begun, forms a *partially* alcoholic wine. Yet more; the exclusion of "contact with air" is the cause both of preventing and of intercepting fermentation. Under the word "moût," must, it is stated: "Il passait pour adoucissant, cordial pectoral; sa vertu laxative est mieux constatée. Les anciens en faisaient généralement la base de leur vins médicinaux." "It is reputed a soothing, pectoral cordial; its laxative influence is better established. The ancients generally made

of it the base of their medicinal wines." This statement accords with the view that "must," or unfermented grape-juice, which will be found to be the Roman "mustum," the Greek "gleukos," and the Hebrew "tirosh," *has* a medicinal virtue, and that its influence is "established" to be *laxative.*

METHOD OF PHILOLOGICAL INVESTIGATION.

In comparing the usage of different languages with each other, in order to verify the interpretation of one language into another, two rules must be observed: first, the usage of modern languages, better known and more fully attested, must be first sought; second, the modern language of the people most familiar with the subject under consideration must be regarded as ruling in comparisons. The modern nations whose lexicographers and translators of Pliny are to be guides, and the order of their authority, are as follows. First, the French, long associated directly with the Romans, whose southern provinces retain most completely the unbroken succession of Roman arts and terms used in wine-making, are the ruling people, the usage of whose language is to be studied. Second, the Germans, less associated with the Romans, inheriting less the usage of their language, and less favored as a vine-growing nation, are second

because of their comprehensive literature. After these come the Italians, closely allied to the old Romans, but having lost their agricultural arts more than have the French; the Spaniards, rich inheritors of the Roman speech, but less exalted in retaining Roman virtues; and the English, rich in culture, but importing their wines instead of making them.

In tracing the usage of the French, the leading language by which to interpret the Roman agricultural writers back to the Latin, four stages are to be noted: first, the modern French terms relating to wines; second, the Provençal, or Roman provincial of the south of France; third, the mediæval Latin; fourth, the classic Latin.

Beginning with the English language, as the language practically known to Americans, it is to be observed that uniform usage makes the term wine the designation of the *genus;* indicating not only every variety of drink made from the juice of the grape, as "raisin-wine," but also from other fruits, as "currant-wine." Hence Johnson, in his large Dictionary, quotes from Bacon's Natural History, "of the must of wine," etc.; while he cites the two English translations of the Greek "gleukos" in Acts ii 13, where Wycliffe has "must," and King James' version has "new wine." Again: in German

"wein," like the English "wine," is the term for the ultimate *genus*, while "most," like "must" in English, is a *species*, having *varieties*. Thus Heinsius, in his Wörterbuch, Hanover, 1820, thus defines must: "*Most*, der süsse ausgeprestse saft aus vershiedenen früchten; als Wein, Obst, vor der Gahrung"; "must, the sweet juice pressed out of various fruits; as wine, fruit-juice, before ferment." To illustrate, he adds, "wein-most, aepfel-most"; wine-must, apple-must. Again: Grieb, in his large Lexicon, as one definition of "most," gives "ungekelteter wein"; unpressed wine; thus not only indicating that must in general, but that this special *variety* of must, which consists of the pure saccharine-juice of the grape flowing out without pressure, is also *wine;* whose mode of making is found in the Roman writers, and whose title, "unfermented wine," is given by Fuerst.

Turning to the Italian and Spanish languages, nearest to Latin, as German and English are most remote, "vino" is found to be the *genus*, and "mosto" the species. In the "Vocabolario" of the "Academia della Crusca di Firenza," 1729, this noted Florentine Society defines "mosto, vino nuovo"; must, new wine; adding numerous citations from standard authors who use "vino" as the universal *genus*. As indicating the *cognate* relationship of terms for

the *genus* in all ancient as well as modern European languages, while the terms for *species* are *not* cognate, the "Panlessico," or universal lexicon, Venice, 1839, gives these Italian, Latin, Greek, German, French, and English terms: "mosto, mustum, gleukos, most, moût, must"; and again, "vino, vinum, oinos, wein, vin, wine." As we shall see, "yayin," in Hebrew, belongs to this long list of *generic* cognates; while the Hebrew "tirosh," like the Greek "gleukos," designating a *species*, is not cognate with, though parallel to, the Latin "mustum" and its modern derivatives. The Spanish, in perfect accord with the Italian, needs no citation in this preparation for the study of translations of Roman writers on wine.

Coming now to the French, the popular yet comprehensive Dictionary of Spiers and Surenne deserves study, since it is founded on all the leading dictionaries, both French and English, whose lists appear on the title-page. The English definition of the French "moût" is "must (unfermented wine)." Going back to the authorities for the parenthetic designation "unfermented wine," we find, both in the Scientific Dictionary of the French Academy and in the National Lexicon of Bescherelle, these common statements and citations: "Moût, vin qui vient d'être; et qui n'a pas encore fermenté"; must,

wine which is coming to be such, and which has not yet fermented. Turning to the terms for "ferment," two specific words, indicating different stages in its progress, are carefully distinguished by French lexicographers, as they are by French translators of the Roman writers on wine. These are, "bouillir," to effervesce, and "fermenter," to ferment. Under "bouillir" is found the explanation, "quand la chaleur ou la fermentation y produit un mouvement; *e.g.*, le vin bout dans la cuve"; when heat or fermentation produces in it a movement; for instance, the wine effervesces in the vat. In French translations of Pliny "bouillir," used in rendering the Latin "ferveo," refers to the appearance of air bubbles observed in boiling water and in effervescing wines. That "must" in France is used as a beverage is indicated by the Academy and by Bescherelle in the common citation, "boire du moût"; to drink must. The important points to note in our survey are, that the term "vin" includes must, and that *all* musts, as well as the special variety noted by Fuerst, are *wines* unfermented.

The transition from classic to mediæval Latin, and again from Provençal, or Roman provincial, to modern French, is indicated by these citations. Du Cange, in his "Glossarium Mediæ et Infimæ Latinitatis," indicates that in

the mediæval Latin "vinum" had become so universally generic that it had *displaced* the classic Latin "mustum"; which was originally an adjective, but came to be used by later Roman and by ecclesiastic writers as a noun neuter. Hence "mustum" is not found in Du Cange as a term of mediæval or low-Latin. In place of it the following is found; "Mustalis, vinum mustale"; mustal, mustal-wine; which designation, Du Cange states, was used for the old Latin "mustum." In illustration he cites imperial and ecclesiastical "chartae," or *orders* written in Latin, of the dates A.D. 1244 and 1259; also a "charta" in the mediæval French of A.D. 1254, showing how, in the intercourse of Romans with French natives, the Latin "mustum" became successively "mustalis, mustaigialis, mostaige, and moustaige." The use of "vinum" as the ultimate genus is farther indicated in the compound "vinum-acetum"; French "vin-aigre," English "vinegar," or sour-wine. Under the word "mutere" the lexicographer traces back the variations from the modern French to the classic Latin in this succession: "muet, mus, muiaus, mutus"; thus illustrating the term "mutés" found in Pancoucke.

In the "Dictionnaire Provençal Français," edited by a medical writer, Honnorat, in 1846, published at Digne, capital of the department

"Basses-Alpes," in the south of France, these definitions are found: "*moust*, Lat. mustum," derived by some "du Gr. *methu*, vin, jus de raisin tiré de la cuve avant qu'il ait cuvé ou fermenté"; from the Greek *methu*, wine, juice of the grape drawn from the vat before it is set or fermented. Here the form of the word for "must" indicates the transition from Latin to French; the Greek derivation suggested throws light on the meaning of *methē* in the Septuagint translation of the Old Testament traced by Cocceius; and it confirms the translation given of such passages as Hos. iv. 11, and 1 Cor. xi. 21. Again Honnorat defines: "*fermentar*, Lat. fermentare. On dit en parlant de la pâte, *levar*, au lieu de fermenter; en parlant de vin *bouilhir*"; it is said in speaking of dough, *to raise*, instead of to ferment; in speaking of wine to *boil* or effervesce. In this statement the links in the chain of testimonies fixing the interpretation of the Roman writers are seen to be unbroken. Yet again he defines: "*mut*, muté, Lat. mutus," after which follow the cognate Spanish "mudo," French "muet," etc.; indicating that the popular meaning attached to the still existing Provençal designation "vins mutés," or *mute, i.e.*, silent wines, is universal, and perpetuated in the language of the common people; which common usage alone determines verbal criticism.

METHODS OF HISTORIC RESEARCH IN ROMAN WRITERS.

The study, comparison, and harmonizing of records, under "rules of interpretation," partakes of the nature of all investigation. First, the methods of ascertaining the meaning of terms, laid down by Blackstone in law, by Niebuhr in general literature, and by Ernesti in Bible study, must be followed; the tracing successively of the meaning of words, of their connection in the context, of the nature of the subject-matter treated, of the consequences of any adopted interpretation, and of the historic surroundings of the writer. Second, the Jurist's Laws of Evidence, as in Greenleaf, must guide investigation; as, that technical terms be explained by experts. Third, the logician's rule, as of Aristotle, that not words alone, since they may have different or loose acceptations, be regarded; but that the things and ideas to which they are applied be examined. Fourth, the scientist's principle must guide, as recognized by Bacon, and followed by men like Newton and Cuvier; that truth is not reached unless the conclusion harmonizes, not a *part*, but the whole of the facts observed or recorded. Directed by these guides the main rules of survey must be the following. Words relating to wines, cognate

or not cognate, generic or not generic, in all languages, Semitic and European, and in all records, sacred or secular, must be compared. In historic research, men like Guizot must interpret on law, like Fuseli on art, like H. C. Agrippa on magic, and like De Sivrey on wines. Again, logical connection, as well as chronological succession of records, must be followed; and, above all, the spirit of the judge, responsible and impartial, not of the mere critic or special pleader, seeking some personal end, must prevail.

In the study of the Roman writers as to "unfermented wine," four points must be kept in view: first, the essential meaning of terms in themselves; second, the grammatical and logical relations of generic and specific words to each other; third, the historic succession of writers and the order of their treatises; fourth, the editions that are used. Under the first point come the terms for strainers which filtered the must; the words indicating the changes wrought after the straining, and the nature of the product after that change. The strainers were of two kinds: the "colum," or basket, made of straw or wicker-work, corresponding to the coarse strainers of straw used in American cider-presses; while the "saccum," or cloth-strainer, was in Egyptian and Roman wine-making far more

effective. The terms for effervescence, ebullition, and ferment have already been noticed. The contrasted terms "unfermented" and "fermented wine" are to be judged not as sounds to the ear, but as essentially distinct products; the one without ferment, the other made alcoholic by ferment; for, if the Latin idiom was not in this respect cognate to the German, French, and English, which, however, all scientific translators consider as actual, yet the question at issue is whether grape juice was kept unfermented from one vintage to another and was by wine-makers called wine. Under the second point it is especially to be observed that the Latin mode of forming compound words was partly that of the Oriental tongues, without change of form or union in writing, and partly that of the Greek in writing together, with euphonic changes, the two words as one compound; while the modern use of the hyphen was unknown. Thus the Greeks wrote for must permanently unfermented, "aeigleukos," uniting the words; the Latins wrote "semper mustum," keeping the two separate; while the English, corresponding to the German, write "always-must." Under the third point, since Pliny quotes the agricultural writers, Cato, Columella, and Varro, who preceded him, the writers quoted must be read before the writer

who quotes. Yet again, since Pliny, in his 14th book, treats specially of wines as a *beverage*, and in his 23d book of wines as *medicines*, care should be taken not to confuse one statement with another. Under the fourth point the rule of calling in experts to interpret records, equally important in literary criticism and in law courts, is carefully to be regarded. Of the agricultural writers there are several editions, the more important of which are the Paris edition of Hardouin, about 1730, and the Leipsic edition of 1735. The editions of Pliny to be consulted on "wines" are the Aldine, Venice, 1576; the Elzevir, Leyden, 1635; that of Hardouin, Paris, 1741; the Biponti Society's, 1784; that of Poinsinet de Sivrey, Paris, 1771–82; that of Ajasson, Paris, 1829–33, and that of Sillig, Leipsic, 1831–36; to which may be added the Italian translation of Domenicho, Venice, 1603. The fact that the Elzevirs were the leading Protestant publishing house which issued the celebrated edition of the Greek New Testament, and that Hardouin was a Jesuit father, is to be considered in their differences as to the text and teaching of Pliny at one or two disputed points. The Italian translation of Domenicho, and yet more the full paraphrastic translation of De Sivrey, are authoritative guides, since they wrote as experts in the modern art, as well as in the

ancient literature of wine-making. The notes of Ajasson, who follows De Sivrey in his translation, are yet more authoritative, since his edition combined the testimonies of thirty men of science, among whom was Cuvier, whose names appear on the title-page.

THE ROMAN AGRICULTURAL WRITERS ON WINES

Coming then to the agricultural writers (Scriptores de Re Rustica), we find the term "vinum" fixed as generic, and "mustum" as specific. The terms "fervesco" and "effervesco" indicate the inchoative, or first appearance of the change that ends in complete fermentation; the term "ferveo" indicates the advanced and active stage of formation of carbonic acid gas; while the term "fermento" designates the completed alcoholic formation. This distinction of meaning in these three terms may be found confirmed by citations from the agricultural writers in all the larger Latin lexicons, as Leverett's; while the "Lexicon Totius Latinitatis," of Corradini, cites in illustration entire passages taken from these writers. The "colum," or basket-strainer, is in Cato the common strainer; while in Pliny it is scarcely named, and seems to be superseded by the more perfect filter of the "saccum," or cloth-strainer.

CATO, THE FIRST AGRICULTURAL WRITER ON WINES.

Cato, the patriotic old Roman statesman, turned farmer, writing about B.C. 200, gives his statements in the form of recipes. From Nos. 12 to 18 he treats of the construction of wine-presses; making the "torculare," or twist-press, prominent. From Nos. 19 to 23 he describes the methods of preparing jars, the use of oil being mentioned; after which follow details of grape-gathering and wine-making. At No. 114 he writes: "Vinum si voles concinnare ut alvum bonum faciat," if you wish to compound a wine that may keep the bowels in good condition, etc.; and having stated special pruning of the vines, he adds: "et bibito ante cœnam; sine periculo alvum movebit," and drink this before supper; without risk it will move the bowels. In continuation, at No. 115, he writes: "In vinum mustum veratri atri manipulum conjicito in amphoram; ubi satis efferverit, de vino manipulum ejicito; id vinum servato ad alvum movendum": into wine-must throw a handful of dark hellebore into the jar; when it has effervesced sufficiently, throw the handful out of the wine; preserve that wine for moving the bowels. All the commentators agree that here "vinum mustum" is a compound word, "mus-

tum" being used adjectively; and that "vinum" is here shown by the earliest Roman usage to be generic, including "mustum" as a species; precisely as in all the modern tongues of Europe the cognate terms for "wine" are used. The immediate connection of this recipe with the preceding, thus indicating more clearly the use of "vinum" as the ultimate genus, is pointed out in a note in the Leipsic edition which quotes the kindred expressions "for moving the bowels." Freund, in his Latin-French Lexicon, cites it; and Corradini, in citing it, fills out Cato's omission in the second clause, thus: "ubi satis efferverit vinum mustum," when the wine-must has sufficiently effervesced. At No. 120 occurs the statement whose translation Dr. Moore criticises (page 104, note) without quoting it: "Mustum si voles totum annum habere, in amphoram mustum indito; et corticem oppicato, demittito in piscinam; post xxx diem eximito; totum annum mustum erit"; "if you wish to have must all the year, put the must into a flask; seal over the cork with pitch, and lower it into the cistern; after thirty days take it out; it will be must all the year." After the attested law of fermentation already considered, it is manifest from this statement of Cato alone, that the Romans preserved must unfermented throughout the year; or as long as it was *needed*,

that is, from vintage to vintage. It is also manifest from No. 115 that must was classed as a *species* under the genus wine.

VARRO, THE SECOND AGRICULTURAL WRITER ON WINES.

Varro, a century and a half later, contemporary with Cicero and his rival in eloquence, familiar with the scenes pictured by Virgil, when in his old age he wrote his three books on husbandry not only had the early experience of Cato, but also the extended learning of his day, when he used language in harmony with that of other writers of his age. Writing in the didactic style, he states (I. 13), "Sæpe, ubi conditum novum vinum, orcæ in Hispania a fervore musti ruptæ"; often, when new wine is put up, the jars in Spain are ruptured by the effervescence of the must. Here these four facts are manifest: first, new wine and must are applied to the same article, showing "vinum" is generic and required the affix "novum" in order to make it equivalent to the species "mustum"; second, it is fresh-grape-juice, put up with the design that it shall be preserved *unfermented*, that is in mind; third, it is the ebullition of gas, not the alcoholic ferment, as Varro's use of "fermento" (I. 38) shows, that breaks the jars; and fourth, there was something either in the

shape of the jar (large-bellied as the *orca* was) or in the climate, or in the husbandry of Spain, that caused the special loss referred to. A little farther on (I. 65), as cited by Dr. Moore (p. 102), Varro writes: "Quod mustum conditur in dolium ut habeamus vinum non promendum dum fervet, neque etiam cum processit ita, ut sit vinum factum, si vetus bibere velis, quod non fit antequam accesserit annus, tam, cum fuerit anniculum prodit." "The must which is put up in a cask that we may have wine not to be drawn forth while it is effervescing, nor even when it has advanced so far that it may have become wine, if you wish to drink it old, which it does not become before a year has passed, then, when it becomes a year old, it comes forth such." Here these connected facts are to be observed: First, the design here is not to preserve must, which after thirty days can be opened and used as such till the next vintage; but the design is to obtain an old wine. Second, the mode of securing such wine, like that of obtaining old cider, is not to place it in sealed jars, like preserved must, but in casks; the term "dolium," as Leverett states and illustrates, and as the old poet Plautus pictures (Pseud. ii. 2, 64), indicating a strong inclosed cask into which fermented and alcoholic wines were placed till the ferment was complete. Third, the "mustum" was called

"vinum" during the process of effervescence, and before its alcoholic ferment was completed. Fourth, *old* wine was a species under the genus wine; for the adjective "vetus" has its noun "vinum" understood; and hence "vinum" is the ultimate genus for grape-juice in all its stages of change from its first extract.

To these direct testimonies of Varro must be added his mention of honey, associated as it is with wine by Roman as well as Greek, Hebrew, and Arabian writers, because it is mainly from the same vintage that bees fill their cells and vintners fill their cellars. In the midst of his statements as to the harvest and vintage, Varro states (iii., 15) that bees make "quod dulcissimum, quod et diis et hominibus est acceptum, quod favus venit in altaria, et mel ad principia convivii, et in secundam mensam administratur"; what is the sweetest, what is accepted by gods and men, in that the honey-comb comes to the altars, and honey is served at the beginning of a feast, as also at the second course. In a note Hardouin says: "The Romans, at the beginning of a feast, satiated their first thirst with honey drink." Among other authorities, he cites Euripides in "Iphigenia" as proof that "the ancients were accustomed to employ honey in divine rites."

COLUMELLA THE THIRD AGRICULTURAL WRITER ON WINES.

Columella, born under Augustus and living a generation later than Varro, a native of Spain and yet a Roman statesman, having therefore a specially wide field of observation and a culture fitted for accuracy of statement, wrote on agriculture, specially on wine-culture and wine-making, much more elaborately than either of his predecessors. At an early stage in his twelve successive books he gives the distinction between "effervescence" and "ferment." At i. 11 he speaks of "fermentum" as witnessed "in massa farinaria," or kneaded dough; while at xii. 17 he illustrates it thus, "fermentantur in amphora ficus," the figs become fermented in the jar. On the other hand, at ix. 15 he states, "Succo suo mella corrumpunt. Deinde, ubi liquatum mel in subjectum alveum defluxit, transfertur in vasa fictilia, quæ paucis diebus aperta sint, dum musteus fructus defervescat, isque sæpius ligula purgandus est." By consulting only the common lexicons, as Leverett's, the ordinary reader will perceive that this is wild-honey, or the sweet syrup of juicy fruits and trees, which is described, and that this is its translation. "Syrups corrupt in their own watery juice. Hence, when the liquid syrup has flowed

into the trough placed underneath, it is transferred into earthen vessels, which may remain open a few days, while the must-product completes its effervescence, and is frequently cleansed with the skimmer." Here three points are noteworthy: first, that it is the water in the juice evaporated by exposure to the sun and air which would cause corruption, unless expelled; second, that it is the "must-slush" (present in the "eau de lavage" of Pasteur) which is also a cause of continual effervescence; third, that "effervescence" is distinct from alcoholic ferment. It is specially to be observed that beside the skimmer (ligula) a basket-filter (colum) and a cloth-strainer were used for the must of grapes. The poet Martial, contemporary with Columella, refers to the same, xii. 61, and xiv. 104.

Coming now to the more important statements of Columella in his last book, having indicated, as above cited, the distinct nature of effervescence as distinct from ferment (xii. 17), he adds more fully (xii. 25), "ut in effervescendo vinum se bene purgat fervore"; that in effervescing it may purge itself well by the ebullition. Intermediate, now, between these two statements, he describes (xii. 19) a method of preserving wines similar to that practiced in Egypt in the earliest times. His words are: "Cura quoque adhibenda est, et expressum mustum

perenne sit, aut certe usque ad venditionem durabile. . . . . Oportet autem antequam mustum in vasa defrutaria conficiatur oleo bono plumbea ipsa intrinsecus imbui, et bene fricari, utque ita mustum adjici." "Care also is to be taken that the must pressed out be perennial, or certainly durable until the sale season. . . . . It is necessary also, before the must is put into the jars for boiled wine, that the lead-covers themselves be soaked in good oil and be well rubbed, and that then the must be placed in them." In continuation (xii. 26), he alludes to the straining of the must which has first been extracted thus: "Curandum est, ut cum uvam legereris et calcaveris, priusquam vinacea torculis exprimantur, mustum in corbem defundas," etc.; care should be taken that, when you have gathered and trodden the grapes, before that the grape-skins are crushed in the presses, you pour off the must into the basket-strainer, etc. In the next paragraph (xii. 27) quoted by Dr. Moore (p. 110) he describes the mode of making "sweet wine" (vinum dulce) by spreading the grapes three days in the sun, and treading them in the tub while warm at noon on the fourth day; adding, "mustum lixivium, hoc est, antequam praelo pressum sit quod in lacum musti fluxerit, tollito"; take out the lixivian must, that is, what had flowed into

the must-vat before it has been squeezed under the press. Here it is to be observed that there were varieties of must, as of wine, as Fuerst has indicated under "tirosh"; and the "lixivium," or fresh-flowing, as opposed to the "tortivum" or press-squeezed (xii. 36), as the Leipsic editor notes, is virtually the "protropos" of the Greeks, which drips from the over-ripe grapes on the vines; the long exposure to the heat of the sun causing the saccharine juice to form to such an extent as to burst the skins and to cause a spontaneous flow. Afterwards, when the effervescence is exhausted (deferbuerit) it is a "*sweet* wine," because, as in modern wine-making, the fermenting element, which is in the pulp, was so slight that a large part of the saccharine juice remains unaffected by it. Both the words "wine" and "must," as is here indicated, have their varieties. The next sentence (xii. 28) beginning, "alia medicaminum genera vini, sic facito," other kinds of wine-medicaments thus make, shows that it is not a beverage in health, but a medicine for sickness, that is above described; a fact further confirmed by the closing statement, "multo melius et firmius erit vinum"; the wine will be much better and firmer; evidently in contrast with the closing statement as to that before described, "hoc vinum erit suave, firmum, corpori salubre," this

wine will be mild, firm, and healthful to the body There immediately follows (xii. 29) the statement Dr. Moore does not quote: "Mustum ut semper dulce, tanquam recens, permaneat, sic facito. Ante prelo vinacea subjiciantur, de lacu quam recentissimum addito mustum in amphoram novam, eamque oblinito, et impicato diligenter, ne quidquam aquæ introire possit; tunc in piscinam frigidæ et dulcis aquæ totam amphoram mergito, ita nequa pars extet; deinde post dies xl eximito. Sic usque in annum dulce permanebit." "That must may remain always sweet, as when fresh, thus do: before the grape-skins are subjected to the press, put the must, when freshest from the vat, into a new flask, stop it up and pitch it carefully, so that no water can enter; then sink the entire flask in a cistern of cold and sweet water, so that no part be out; then, after forty days, take it out; thus it will remain sweet throughout the year." Dr. Moore admits that *must* (p. 104) is thus kept *as must* during the year, but objects to its being classified as a *wine*. It is sufficient to call attention to the connection of the following paragraph (xii. 30), as also to the preceding (xii. 28); which, if read in connection with this intervening paragraph, indicate conclusively that Columella, like Cato, ranks preserved musts as a class of wines.

At ix. 15, Columella indicates, as other writers on wines, the relation of honey to wine. In the description of the "mellis vindemia," or honey vintage, in which the designation is significant, Columella treats of methods of saving the bees while securing their honey. In beautiful allusion to Virgil's humane spirit toward even the "ignava pecus," or drones, Columella thus describes the strainer for both must and honey: "Saligneus qualus, vel tenui vimine rarius contextus saccus, inversæ metæ similis, qualis est quo vinum liquatur, obscuro loco suspenditur; in eum deinde carptim congeruntur favi." "A willow basket, or a sack woven loosely with a slender thread, like an inverted cone, is suspended in a shady place; in this, piece by piece, the honey-comb is heaped." This relation of honey to must, before noted, is of vital import in tracing essential truth as to unintoxicating wines.

PLINY, THE ROMAN NATURALIST, ON WINES.

Besides the distinction between words indicating the *nature* of wines as fermented and unfermented, noted in the Latin terms "effervesce" and "ferment," as well as those suggesting the means of separating the gluten from the juice proper, observed in the "colum" and "saccus" used for straining "must," in Pliny another

class of words must be carefully kept distinct. Since Pliny speaks of the nutritive and medicinal properties of wines and musts, the terms for the internal organs used by the Greek and Latin scientific writers are to be carefully studied. Pliny's anatomical descriptions precede his statements as to wines, being found minutely presented in several chapters of his eleventh book; only a few particulars of which pertain to the interpretation of his discussion of wines. At xi. 66, describing the stomach, "stomachum," derived as the Greek is from "stoma," the mouth, Pliny makes it include the gullet or esophagus, since he represents the voice as proceeding from it. Again, he thus locates two organs of digestion: "Subest venter stomachum, habentibus, ceteris simplex, ruminantibus geminas"; the abdomen is under the stomach, to those having it, double in ruminants, simple in other animals; the term "venter," when used specifically, manifestly including the *digestive organs*, not simply the stomach alone as a *receptacle* of food. The term "interanea" is manifestly intestines; while the term "vena" refers to the circulatory organs, since in xi. 88 is found the definition "venæ, id est, sanguinis rivi;" the veins, that is, the blood-vessels. The French translations of De Sivrey are: for "stomachus," estomac; for "venter, ventre;

for "interanea," entrailles; for "vena,' veine. These terms, in the main, correspond to the following Greek terms: stomachus to "stomachos," venter to "koilia," and vena to "phleps," whence our word phlebotomy. The importance of noticing these distinctions will appear in interpreting statements of Pliny, which, but for his own definitions, would, as French scientific writers intimate, be obscure. The minute knowledge of the Greek and Roman physicians is like that of the ancient discoverers in natural history; which, as Agassiz often remarked, could not be translated till their observations have been repeated.

In the early part of his eleventh book, Pliny, in a double allusion to honey and must, makes these noteworthy statements. Alluding (xi. 14) to the fact that the greater part of the honey of the bees is from their gatherings at vintage (vindemiæ), Pliny remarks that the more thrifty (diligentiores) "leave a tenth part to the bees." Referring then (xi. 15) to the spontaneous flow from the bursting fruits as the *richest*, he says: "In omni melle quod per se fluxit, ut mustum, oleumque, appellatur acetum"; in all honey that which flows spontaneously, as must and oil, is called dregless. De Sivrey quotes Palladius as stating the same; this first flow being "nobilius." The Greek word here referred to, as all lexicog-

raphers and annotators agree, is the Greek privative term "akoitos," meaning without dregs or sediment. The intimation is thus clear, at the outset of Pliny's history, that both Greeks and Romans recognized the spontaneously flowing juice of the grape as free from pulpy admixture which would cause sediment. Pliny here repeats as his own the recommendation, "decimam partem apibus relinqui placet"; it is thought proper that a tenth part be left to the bees.

In the main, though with exceptions, Pliny treats in general of the properties of plants, giving a large place to the vine, from his twelfth to his sixteenth book. From the seventeenth to the twenty-third book he speaks specially of the nutritive and medicinal properties of plants, making the vine still prominent; while also, in later books, his allusions to products of the vine are frequent.

At xiv. 2, the word "defervere," rendered by Dr. Moore (p. 104) "ferment," relates to the ceasing of effervescence, as we have seen, in wines designed to be partially fermented. On the term "sobriam," supposed by Dr. Moore (p. 105) to refer to the grape, not the wines made of it, and on the word "inerticula," to which it is applied, found as it is in connection with Pliny's mention of the warning of Alex-

ander's physician, Hardouin has this note on the adjective "inerticula," which has the noun "vina" understood: "which the Greeks call *amethuson*," or unintoxicating, "because it is inert (iners) in exciting the nerves." He quotes Isidor, L. xvii., c. 5, as referring also to these wines (vina) as "innoxia." De Sivrey also quotes "Isidore," and paraphrases "étant même le seul (vin) qui n'enivre point"; being the only wine that does not intoxicate. In the same connection (xiv. 6) Pliny, after mentioning the formerly celebrated wines of the Campagnia (Campania), refers to three varieties of the Faustinian, the pungent (austerum), the sweet (dulce), and the light (tenue); and states that, though once celebrated, they have lost their character through the neglect (incuria) of the farmers. In referring to the Gnidian "protropum" mentioned at xiv. 7, which Dr. Moore (p. 104) does not regard as wine, the annotators refer to xiv. 11, where it is described, and where it will be considered.

At xiv. 9 occurs the passage cited by Dr. Moore in full: "Medium inter dulcia vinumque est, quod Græci *aïgleucos* vocant, hoc est semper mustum. Id evenit cura, quoniam fervere prohibetur; sic appellant musti in vina transitum." Here, first, the orthography of "aïgleukos," sometimes written "aeiglukos," and the form

of Latin compounds without connection or hyphen, as "semper mustum," is to be observed. Second, the text should be regarded; Sillig, followed, doubtless, by Dr. Laurie (Bib. Sac., xxvi., p. 166), omitting the "que," probably to make the translation clearer, while other editors retain it. Third, the word "fervere" means to effervesce. Fourth, the adjective "dulcia," as all authorities agree, has the word "vina" understood; De Sivrey calling attention to the heading preceding "De dulcium genera xiv.," which he renders, "Of fourteen kinds of sweet wines." De Sivrey thus paraphrases the text, "the wine which the Greeks call aïgleucos, that is to say, always in the state of must, holds the middle place between sweet wines and common wines. It is preserved in that state by preventing it from effervescing (de bouillir), and consequently from becoming changed into veritable wine (véritable vin)." Hardouin has this note: "Vinum quod est semper dulce, sive mustum, quia fervere prohibetur"; wine which is always sweet, or must, because it is prevented from effervescing. The Italian of Domenicho is in accord. As to the method of manufacture, De Sivrey states, "Cette manipulation est confirmée par Caton; c. 120," this mode of manufacture is confirmed by Cato, chap. 120.

At xiv. 11, Pliny's statement as to "protro-

pum" is: "Inter hæc genera potûm ponere debes et protropum; ita appellata a quibusdam mustum sponte defluens, antequam calcentur uvæ"; among these kinds of drinks you ought to place also protropum; thus is called, by some must flowing spontaneously before the grapes are trodden. These words the French Academy's Dictionary cites, calling it a kind of wine. De Sivrey, in a note, calls attention to its classification among sweet wines, and says, "It is what we call *mere-goutte*, or pure drop"; which term the Academy defines, "The wine which flows from the vat or the press without the grapes having been pressed"; while Surenne defines it, "wine of unpressed grapes." At xiv. 12 the "passi genera" are called by De Sivrey "vins cuits," cooked wines, or "wines made from boiled must by adding water"; and in a note he states, "It is nearly in this manner that the Turks now make their sherbets" (sorbets). On the "melititia" he paraphrases: "the melititia, that is to say, the honied (mielleux), is also of the class of sweet wines." These statements prepare the student to find French as well as German lexicographers classifying Arab "sherbets" among wines.

At xiv. 18 Pliny prepares his readers for his significant statements in the next chapter by the title "Prodigiosa genera vinorum," that is, "the

kinds of wines appropriate for religious rites." The essential points of interpretation relate to this statement (xiv. 19): "Et quoniam religione vita constat, pro libare Diis nefastum habetur vina, præter imputatæ vitis, fulmine tactæ, quamque juxta hominis mors laqueo pependerit, aut vulneratis pedibus concalcata, et quod circumcisis vinaceis profluxerit, aut superne deciduo immundiore lapsu aliquo polluta. Item Græca, quoniam aquam habeant." The first point of criticism is the fact that the preposition "præter," omitted by the Elzevirs, probably because of a supposed difficulty of interpretation, is inserted by all the French editors, and also by the German Sillig; De Sivrey stating in a note that "all the manuscripts have præter." The important point to note is, that in Pliny the word "præter" signifies, as Leverett states, "over and above"; a meaning which is really the original meaning, since in Cæsar "præter castra" means "outside of the camps"; while, moreover, all compounds, as the English word "preternatural," retain the signification of something *over* or added to. Hence De Sivrey paraphrases the passage thus: "Comme la religion est la base de la vie humaine, il convient d'observer qu'il n'est pas permis de faire des libations aux Dieux avec du vin; non seulement d'une vigne qui n'aurait pas été taillié," etc. If "præter" were omitted, the sense would

be that it was "impious to offer as libations to the gods wines of the unpruned vine," etc., or that whose grapes were so covered with leaves and twigs that they did not ripen sufficiently to furnish pure saccharine juice; a result in keeping with the particulars which follow. As, however, "præter" belongs to the text, the sense is, as at xiv. 12, where Numa's prohibitory law against wines is cited; that *all* wines by Roman law are regarded as inconsistent with the spirit of religion, "over and above those of the unpruned vine," etc. In illustration of the exceptions here made, especially of diluted Greek wines, De Sivrey quotes the following "Droit Pontifical," or Papal bull, of the middle ages, evidently opposed both to the Greek Church and to heretics: "Spurcum vinum est, quod sacris adhiberi not licet, cui aqua admixta est, defrutumve; aut igne tactum est, mustumve antequam defervescat"; it is impure wine, which it is not lawful to use in sacred rites, in which water is admixed, or raisin-wine, or that touched by fire, or must before it has ceased to effervesce. The expression "aquam habeant" is rendered by De Sivrey, "mêlés d'eau," and by Domenicho, "hanno acqua." The statement of Aquinas is thus illustrated; the custom of the Greek Church in diluting communion wine is seen to be ancient; and the entire view taken of this passage in the "Divine Law as to Wines" is confirmed.

At xiv. 20, in the expression "musta in primo fervore," De Sivrey renders "musta" by "vins nouveaux," and "ferveo" by "bouillir." On the phrase xiv. 28, "sacco frangimus vires," Hardouin makes this note: "Hinc vinum colatum, sive saccatum, altero non saccato debilius dulciusque"; hence wine strained by the basket or sack is weaker and sweeter than other wine not strained; and he cites Colum., ix. 15, in proof. The passage cited by Dr. Moore, through a typographical error, as lib. xvi. c. xxviii., which should be xiv. 28, may be well left to speak for itself. At xvii. 2, and again xviii. 11, Pliny's use of the verbs "effervesco" and "ferveo" is illustrated by Hardouin's note, "fermentum proprie dicitur de pane"; ferment is properly said of bread. At xviii. 11 attention is called by Hardouin to the Latin "fermentum" as equivalent to the Hebrew "seor." At xviii. 30 the word "effervesco," applied to beans, is by De Sivrey rendered "s'échauffer," to become heated. At xix. 19 De Sivrey takes note that as the best fruits (poma) were interdicted to the poor (pauperibus interdicti), so the "vina saccisque castrati," or wines deprived of spirit by filters, were thus emasculated because the wealthy classes, lacking the bodily vigor of the laboring classes, were unable to bear strong wines; a practical conclusion of the old Romans, calling on the wise among the wealthy of modern

times to seek to guard the sons of fortune, as well as the sons of toil, from the insidious influence of intoxicants; a fact also indicating how science, in all ages, has sought, and still seeks, to aid wine-makers in diminishing, if not eliminating, the alcohol of wines.

At xiv. 24 are presented various methods of arresting ferment in must, of which the sulphur fumes still employed, according to Pancoucke, in Southern France, are manifestly the hereditary succession. After citing several Greek authorities, Pliny writes: "In Africa gypso mitigat asperitatem vini; nec non aliquibus sui partibus calce, Græcia argilla, aut marmore, aut sale, aut mari lenitatem excitat; Italiæ pars aliqua nebulana pice; ac resina condire musta vulgare est ei, provinciisque finitimis"; in Africa they soften the asperity of wine with gypsum; and also, in some parts of it, with chalk, with Grecian potter's clay, or marble, or salt, or with sea-water, they promote mildness; a certain part of Italy, with crude pitch; also it is common to it and the neighboring provinces to treat musts with resin. The rendering of De Sivrey, here followed, and his notes, together with the modern knowledge of the chemical action thus secured, are not only a study for wine-makers; but, to the reader seeking for truth as to Roman wines, they are an essential guide in ascertaining the law of unfer-

mented wines. Pliny adds: "Nec non et ex ipso musto fiunt medicamenta; decocquitur, ut dulcescat"; also of must itself medicaments are made; it is boiled that it may become sweet. In this connection occurs the statement, "ratio autem condiendi musta, in primo fervore," etc.; but the method of treating musts in the first effervescence, etc.; which again illustrates Pliny's care in using terms. Speaking further of the prepared "sapa," or thoroughly boiled must, Pliny mentions, "Et in hoc genere, et in omni alio, subministrant vasa ipsa condimentis picis"; both in this and every other kind (of preserved grape-juice) they prepare the jars themselves with solutions of pitch; indicating that not only oil, but pitch was employed to guard the must on every side from contact with the air. At this point De Sivrey, as elsewhere, introduces lengthy citations from a scientific treatise on wine-making; in which these statements are met: "The more attentive follow the precautions mentioned by Pliny. When they propose to make the best wines they select the best plants; they leave the fruit to attain to the most perfect maturity; they cut the fruit only when the dews (rosées) are dissipated, and on fair days; they, yet more, select the clusters most ripe, and those not attacked with rust (pourriture); and, finally, they pick off (égrappent) the selected grapes

. . . . The grand point is to apply oneself so as to understand well the suitable degree (le degré convenable) of fermentation." He adds that the methods taught by Pliny must be modified, "because of the climate of our country, so different from that of Italy." In this note mention is made at length, also, of "omphalium," as used for preparing wine jars in which musts are to be preserved. Here reference is made to two passages in Pliny. At xii. 27 he says, "oleum et omphacium est," there is also an unripe oil; and then he proceeds to state that it is an extract from the grape and other fruits, but chiefly from the olive, when the fruit is immature. At xxii. 4, Pliny again mentions "omphacium" as used "in unguentorum loco," in the place of ointments, medicinal as well as crude. The writer cited by De Sivrey says: "*Omphacium* is what the French generally call *verjus* (green-juice), a kind of oil (d'huile), which they draw from the olives when they are yet green (vertes). At this day they call *oleum omphalium* oil drawn from the olives when they begin to ripen. They obtain less oil when they take the olives in this state, but it is better." The confusion of the Greek terms "omphakion" and "omphalion," the one indicating the consistency of an immature, pulpy fruit, and the other the navel-shaped form of the same, may or may not be designed. On the word

"subministrant" De Sivrey paraphrases, "on sert en tonneaux poissés," they preserve it in pitched casks; and he cites a scientific traveler in the Orient as stating, "they put pitch in the vat (cuve), but they also coat the jars with resin (enduit les vases de resin)." These exhaustive citations of De Sivrey, only minor points of which are given, indicate that science has not left the earnest searcher for the law of restraining and preventing ferment in grape-juice without ample guidance; and yet that modern scholars, and especially tourists in wine-growing countries, may fail, as in New York, the center of beer and wine preparation, as also of Hebrew customs, to reach the truth. At xix. 39 the expression "lineis saccis" indicates the fine texture of the filters used; linen being a thorough strainer for the juice of the grape. At xx. 17 the generic comprehensiveness of the word "vinum" appears in the statement, "fit vinum et ex aqua ac melle tantum," wine is made from water and honey only. The constantly recurring examples noted by French experts lead their annotators to use the Latin "vinum," because Pliny so used it, with all the latitude of the French "vin"; vinum comprehending not only wines of every proportion of alcoholic admixture, but also "musts," which have no alcohol.

Prepared by the anatomical explanations be-

fore recorded, Pliny opens his twenty-third book with the heading, "De medicinis uvarum recentium," of medicines from fresh grapes. At xxiii. 1 he writes: "Uva passa . . . . stomachum, ventrem, interanea tentaret,' which De Sivrey renders, "le raisin sec . . . . est nuisible à l'estomac, au ventre et aux entrailles," the dried grape is injurious to the stomach, the digestive organs generally, and to the intestines. At xxiii. 18 occurs the passage quoted in part by Dr. Moore: "Mustum omne stomacho inutile, venis jucundum." De Sivrey, regarding the last clause as the important part of the statement, thus renders the expression: "Toute espèce de moût, ou vin nouveau, est salutaire aux veines; mais nuisible à l'estomac"; every kind of must, or new wine, is healthful to the circulatory organs, but is injurious to the digestive organs. It is plain that the conditions of health and of weakness of the stomach are before Pliny; and that the fresh grape-juice which might, if undigested, prove an irritant, is invigorating when so digested as to pass into the circulation. The rendering of Domenicho is in accord with this view; and the corresponding statement at xxiii. 1 is recalled by Hardouin: "Sapa quoque stomacho inutiles facit"; boiled must acts injuriously on the stomach. De Sivrey quotes in illustration Dioscorides (v. 3); who states that raisins, or dried

grapes, remove flatulency, and thus "utiles fiunt stomacho ægrisque" are made useful to the stomach, even in the sick. De Sivrey farther states that "sapa" or boiled must, "causes the appetite to return." In the same connection is the statement which led the French encyclopædist to the remark: "The ancients generally made *must* the base of their medicinal wines." After enumerating (xxiii. 18) various medicinal preparations of fresh, boiled, and spiced must, Pliny says: "Cura differentias innumerabiles facit"; care effects innumerable differences. As if readers needed the mention, Hardouin here adds the note: "Mustum, vinum novum; unde musteum vocatur quicquid novellum"; must, new wine; whence whatever is novel is called musty. The English, living outside the wine region, give a precisely opposite meaning to the Latin term "musty."

At xxiii. 22, again, are met nice distinctions in the use of terms by Pliny, which indicate that only scientific experts can be expected to bring out the law alike of scientific fact and of linguistic usage, which insures the attainment of truth. Three statements here made are significant. Referring to the three classes of wines noted among the Falernian at xiv. 6, Pliny says: "Dulce minus inebriat, sed stomacho nutrit"; and again: "Tenue et austerum minus

alit, magis stomachum nutrit." The distinction between the two verbs "alo" and "nutrio," here vital to the understanding of Pliny's two statements, must be sought in comparative philology. Schrevelius, comparing the Greek and Latin, defines "alo" by "piaino," to fatten, and "chileno," to feed, as cattle; indicating that it is increase in bulk, in corpulency, which "alo" denotes. On the other hand, he defines "nutrio" by "trepho," which is derived from a word meaning to strengthen, or invigorate; thus indicating that "nutrio" means to improve the *quality*, rather than the quantity, of the flesh which it nourishes. The first should, then, be rendered, "The sweet intoxicates less, but gives healthful vigor to the stomach"; while the second should be translated, "The light, also the pungent, make less flesh, but more invigorate the digestive organs." On the first statement, Hardouin quotes Dioscorides v. 8, that sweet wines have a tendency "stomachum inflare," to cause wind in the stomach; while De Sivrey adds the comment, "Restent long temps sur l'estomac"; remain a long time on the stomach. On the second, De Sivrey has this paraphrase: "Ceux qui sont verds, et qui ont peu de corps, sont bons à l'estomac, quoiqu'ils nourissent moins"; those which are unmatured, and which have little body, are good for the stomach, although they give

iess nourishment. A third associated statement is this: "Vinum, si sit fumo inveteratum, insaluberrimum est"; wine, if it be made to last by being smoked, is most unhealthful. The wine of modern Strasburg, cited by Pancoucke, will here be re-called. On the general statements of Pliny in this chapter, xxiii. 22, Ajasson, guided by the researches of the French chemists and physicians, whom he cites, says: "Toute ce que Pline va nous dire sur les propriétés du vin ne serait pas avoué par les médecins modernes"; all that Pliny goes on to tell as to the properties of wine would not be admitted by modern physicians.

At xxiii. 24 Pliny indicates plainly that he includes must as a *species*, among wines as the *genus*. The heading of the preceding chapter (xxiii. 23), "Observationes circa vina," observations about wines, is followed by about sixty successive recipes, as the French interpreters note, which fill several chapters. In xxiii. 24 he begins, "Nunc circa ægritudines sermo de vinis exit," now our discourse will be of wines for sicknesses. Here occurs the expression, "Utilissimus omnibus sacco viribus fractis"; the most useful for all are those whose strength is broken by the filter; De Sivrey indicating that for the healthy, as truly as for the sick, the wines thus weakened of alcoholic properties are the best. Pliny here

adds: "Meminerimus saccum est, qui fervendo vires e musto sibi fecerit," which De Sivrey paraphrases, "On doit se souvenir que le vin de quelque espèce, qu'il puisse être, est un suc, qui, n'ayant d'abords été que du moût, c'est-à-dire une liqueur douce et nullement spiritueuse," etc. "It should be remembered that wine, of whatever kind it may be, is a juice, which, having been at first only must, that is to say, a liquor sweet and in no respect alcoholic," etc. Here, certainly, De Sivrey regards Pliny as using "vinum" with the same breadth of meaning as the French use "vin"; that is, as a genus under which every beverage made of grape is classed. Citations without limit might be made to the same effect. Those made have been multiplied only that the usage which must decide in Biblical criticism may be assured.

WINES IN ROMAN GENERAL LITERATURE.

While the Roman agricultural writers use terms relating to wines in their popular or scientific meaning in stating their nature, mode of manufacture, properties, and uses, poets, historians, and moralists even, are expected to be figurative and less specific in their employ of words. The general usage, cited from Virgil and other writers in the former pages of "Divine Law as to Wines," are generally accepted as correct. To

this general fact, however, the inconstant and inconsistent Horace, like Byron, now convivial, now sober, gives occasion for doubt as to his real meaning. The interpretations of his allusions to Lesbian and Falernian wines are specially obscure; and hence experts alone can give assured testimony. On the expression "innocentis pocula Lesbii" of Horace, Carm. I. 17, French annotators direct attention to Pliny's statement, xiv. 17: "His addidit Lesbium Erasistrati maximi medici auctoritas"; to these the authority of Erasistratus, the most eminent physician, adds the Lesbian. It is of sweet wines in their medicinal virtue Pliny is speaking. On this Hardouin has this note: "Quo nullum suavius aiunt Alexis et Archestratus"; than which none is sweeter, say Alexis and Archestratus; whose records, as poets of the Alexandrine age, Hardouin cites. De Sivrey paraphrases Pliny's words thus: "Nul vin ne l'emportait sur celui-ci pour la douceur"; no wine surpasses this in sweetness. As to the Falernian, as noticed, Horace names four distinct varieties, of which the "honey-sweet" (Serm. II, ii. 15, 16) was a favorite; its varieties being products of one of the best vine-growing regions of Italy. Pliny (xiv. 6) speaks, as we have observed, of three kinds: the pungent (asperum), the light (tenu), and the sweet (dulce); and he states

that they owed their superiority "to the great care and attention bestowed on their manufacture." The important facts to observe are these: that two out of three varieties were wines slightly alcoholic, and that modern Italian writers on wines regard the "Lachrymæ Christi," originally a "protropos," to be the virtual successor to the Falernian. All light and sweet wines result from an effort so to increase the proportion of saccharine juice in the ripening grape, or so to arrest fermentation, as to diminish the proportion of alcohol; an effort which resulted in the better days of Egyptian and Roman historians in the entire prevention of alcoholic ferment.

GREEK WRITERS ON WINES.

The abstracts from the records of Greek writers, historians, and poets, physicians and philosophers, who commend unintoxicating wines, has found few points for critical objection. The citation of Dr. Moore from Hippocrates, though from one of the later writings attributed to him, deserves notice. The passage is: "Gleukos phusa kai hypagei; kai ektarassetai zeon en tē koiliē"; preserved must causes wind and purges, and excites cholic in the abdomen. The term "koilia," as already indicated, is by Aristotle, in his "Anatomy of Animals," used in a general signification, referring to the stomach or lower

viscera, according as the adverbs "ana" or 'kata," used with it, indicate. The word "gleukos" is not classic, not appearing till the age of the Alexandrine writers; yet this statement, though made at a later day by one of his school, is in keeping with the actual writings of Hippocrates, as it is also with those of Dioscorides and of Pliny, already quoted. The citations from Herodotus of the designations, (ii. 37) "oinos ampelinos," grape-wine; (ii. 77) "oinos ek kritheōn," barley-wine; and (ii. 86) "oinos phoinikēïos," palm-wine, are correctly interpreted; but they do not conflict with the statement of Greek and Latin writers as to the wine drunk by Egyptian priests. The quotation from Plato (Nom. l. iv.) shows in itself that the "maddening (mainomenos) wine" had also a counterpart in another opposite kind of the "sober (nēphōn) deity"; the very staten ent indicating that there was in Plato's day, which was that of Aristotle, an unintoxicating wine. Plato's prolonged argument in the first and second books of his laws is in harmony with this statement, as it is also with Aristotle.

The distinctive nature and effects of wine are established by Aristotle; whose original researches, as compared with the able compilations of Pliny, won the life-long admiration of Agassiz. The remarkable statement in his last course

of lectures given at Cambridge by Agassiz, that Aristotle had not only anticipated many modern discoveries, but that many of his statements could not be rightly interpreted until the phenomena to which they refer had been re-discovered, has special force with one who attempts to comprehend all his statements as to wines. Hence the recent experiments of Pasteur on the saccharine juice of the grape throw new light on the passage (Meteor. iv. 9), whose interpretation is again called in question. The passage occurs, as indicated heretofore, in an indirect statement as to the evaporizing and solidifying properties of certain liquids; and the Greek text is as follows: "Oinos, d' ho men glukus, thumiatai. Piōn gar, kai tauta poiei tō elaiō; gar hypo psuchous pēgnutai, kaietai te. Esti d' onomati oinos; ergō d' ouk estin; ou gar oinōdes ho chumos, dio kai ou methuskei"; wine, the sweet, indeed, evaporates; for, being glutinous, it also in these respects acts like oil; for under cold, it becomes viscid, and is inflammable. It is, indeed, in name wine; in its operation, however, it is not, for the liquid is not wine-like; wherefore also, it does not intoxicate. The interpretation formerly given to this passage is confirmed in every particular by the French writers quoted. As with the "vins mutés" of modern Strasbourg it is not opposition to the popular verdict as to

the *name* by which it should be called that the scientific writer would indicate. Aristotle among the Greeks, like the medical encyclopedist among modern French wine-makers, simply emphasizes the fact that there is a wine, properly so-called, which has not the intoxicating quality of fermented wines.

The special interest which German and French writers on wines have always shown in the Greek medical writers, the works of four of whom are extant, and the new light they cast on the use of unfermented grape-juice, calls for a brief reference to these associated works. They may be found in several editions separated from each other; they are brought together in the Leipsic edition, 1821, of thirty volumes, entitled "Medicorum Græcorum Operæ, quæ extant." Of these twenty-two vols. are filled with the preserved works of Galen; two with the works of Hippocrates and of his school; three with those of Dioscorides; and two of Aristæus. The "Aphorisms" of Hippocrates, who flourished about B.C. 420, still used by medical students in France, have already been cited. The passage cited by Dr. Moore, as noticed, is from one of his school of a much later date. It is but part of a lengthy statement, in which it is mentioned that "gleukos," or preserved must, "acts as a purgative (diachōreei) on the bowels."

Dioscorides (who wrote about A.D. 60, specially on Materia Medica "Hylēs Iatrikés), devotes his Fifth Book mainly to the medicinal properties of preparations of grape-juice, almost numberless. At c. 9 he says of "sweet wine" that it is "flatulent (pneumatikos) to the stomach and bowels," adding, "as is also preserved must (gleukos.") At c. 11 he mentions among others that thick (pacheis) wines are clogging to the stomach; being flatulent (physōdeis) yet producing flesh." On the other hand, he states: "The thin (leptoi) wines are less flesh-producing." At c. 15 he says: "Honied wine (oinos melititēs) is given in chronic fevers (chroniois pyretois) to those having a weak stomach." Aristæus, about A.D. 100, writing on the "causes, signs and cures" of disease, makes these statements: "The use of wine causes angina pectoris, hemorrhage from the head, inflammation of the liver, insanity, paralysis, apoplexy; and is the most frequent cause of disease." "Wine is a medicament in cholera and syncope, though its use is attended with danger." Galen, the voluminous writer, who cites his predecessors largely on nutritives (trophōn), B. ii., c. 9, states: "Grapes nourish less than figs," since its "crude juice (chymos, whence the word 'chyme') is not easily changed into blood"; but he adds that the "simple saccharine juice (chy-

los, whence the word 'chyle'), which the common people call *gleukos*, is more easily digested." It is manifestly the "protropos" which the "common people" thus designate "gleukos." Repeating other statements as to "gleukos," manifestly the pure saccharine juice of the grape, of a kindred character, Galen on "Simple Remedies" (aploōn) states, B. ix., c. 215: "Wine is of the second rank (taxis) in heating (thermainontiōn) prescriptions; old wine is of third, and preserved must ('gleukos' of the people, seen to be 'protropos') is of the first rank."

The brief consideration, in closing these references to Greek writers, of the two words for wines found in the later Alexandrine writers, is here appropriate, since they are found in the Greek translation of the Old Testament made under the successors of Alexander, as well as in the New Testament. The generic word is "oinos"; cognate, as already observed, with the Latin "vinum," and with all its successors in the languages of modern Europe. It is sufficient here to observe that it is the *ultimate* genus, covering all beverages made from grape-juice; as has been seen in Aristotle, the father of logical distinctions as to terms, in the quotation just considered. The other distinctive term is "gl*ukos"; not found in the Greek language until after the age of Aristotle and his successors, when the in-

fluence of Asiatic tongues seems to have led to the formation of this neuter noun from the adjective "glukus," sweet. The revised Greek Thesaurus of Stephanus, Paris, 1833, has the definition: "gleukos, Lat. mustum, Fr. moût." The former English edition, London, 1816–18, defines "gleukos, mustum, must." It adds, "mustum decoctum, defrutum," giving numerous citations; showing that the term "gleukos" designates a species of true wines under which there are several varieties; that among these varieties are the boiled musts (mustum decoctum) of which Mohammedan Arabs make "sherbets"; and that among them also are properly classed the syrups formed from the boiled juices of the grape and of other fruits, spiced and sweetened, which are used in modern meads, and in effervescing soda waters. Again, Passow, in his German-Greek Lexicon Leipzig, 1841, has this specially significant definition: "Gleukos, ungegohrner od. eingekockter susser wein," unfermented or boiled sweet wine. These combined definitions of "gleukos" include thus the four varieties found by Fuerst to be included in the Hebrew "tirosh." That the modern Greek inherits the usage of the Alexandrine tongue used by the Greek translators of the Old Testament, and by the writers of the New Testament, is seen in the following citations. In the comprehehsive "Lexicon Hellenikon" of Gaze,

Venice, 1809, are found these two definitions: "Gleukos; ho moustos, ētoi ho glukus oinos, ho opoios den ebrasen akome; to apostalagma tēs staphulēs piein brasē"; "Gleukos; must, that is sweet wine; that which is immediately boiled; the dripping of the cluster boiled to drink." Besides this term, handed down from the days of the Ptolemies, the following also is found in modern Greek: "Gleuxis; oinos, polyhepsema echōn; moustos brasomenos kai glukus; to para tois Turkois": Gleuxis, wine having much boiling; must boiled and sweet; that now found among the Turks. Under the word "hepsema," one of the definitions is "sapa"; showing the connection of modern Greek and Turkish products of the grape with the ancient Greek and Roman; and especially demonstrating, that, by native Greeks, "musts," in their different forms, have always been classed among wines. In the Lexicon published at Athens, 1835, soon after the Greek nation became independent, a lexicon founded mainly on that of Gaze, this definition is found: "Gleukos; ho moustos, ē ho hepsemenos glukus oinos; ho opoios ētoi aph' heautou den ebrasen akomē, ē ebrasthē technikōs": gleukos; must, or cooked sweet wine; that, indeed, which has effervesced of itself immediately, or has been made to boil artificially. The Greek-French Lexicon, published at Athens, 1846, defines

"brazo" (*aorist* ebrasa) by "faire bouillir," to cause to effervesce. Sophocles, in his modern Greek Lexicon, Boston, 1870, mentions the adjective form, "gleukinos"; which he defines "new wine, must." The testimony of the Greek language, in which the term "gleukos" has been perpetuated for twenty-one centuries, is unvarying as to its signification; teaching the fact that language stereotypes truth for all ages.

THE HEBREW A UNIVERSAL LANGUAGE OF INTERCOMMUNICATION.

The Hebrew of the Old Testament, like the Greek of the New Testament, was a language prepared by Divine Providence to be the earlier, as the Greek was the later, depository of divine revelation deemed essential to be communicated to all nations of mankind. Its history illustrates the fact that its list of words was comprehensive, and its grammatical structure intermediate among the last and most perfectly elaborated tongues. The original Semitic language was the Chaldee of Abraham's ancestry; whose links to the old Zend, the original of the Indo-European family of languages, are becoming more and more apparent. The first modification of the tongue spoken by Abraham and his descendants began in Aram, high up on the Euphrates, called Syria by the Greek translators of the Old Testament;

in which land, whither he had gone with his father Terah, as Moses intimates (Deut. xxvi. 5), the Hebrew patriarch was "a Syrian ready to perish"; and where Jacob, his grandson, came to understand, if not use, the language of his kindred (Gen. xxv. 20). The distinct character of that language, called "Syriac" in our version, but now styled "Aramean," is brought out in the history of Jacob (Gen. xxxi. 47), of Hezekiah (2d Kings xviii. 26), and of Daniel (Dan. ii. 4). The second modification of the Hebrew language was made in Canaan, where Abraham and his descendants, and Israel in all their history as a nation, had their home. The controlling influence of this association is seen from the days of Abraham to Jehoshaphat, in the commercial and social intercourse of the Hebrew and Phœnician people; as appears in both the written alphabet, in the vocabulary, and in the grammar of the two languages. The Hebrews, like the Greeks, derived their first alphabet from the Phœnicians; as is seen in the copies of the books of Moses preserved among the modern Samaritans. The likeness of words, and of their structure, is seen in the Pœnulus, or little Carthaginian of Plautus; who, as the son of an Umbrian freedman, whose father was familiar with the Carthaginian occupation of Italy by Hannibal, had both the spirit and the ability to preserve treasures of the

Punic, or African Phœnician language. In act v. scene 1, of his Pœnulus, Plautus gives a brief soliloquy of Hanno, a Carthaginian, in his native tongue; which soliloquy he repeats in a Latin translation for his readers; guided by which translation able Hebrew scholars have been enabled to put the speech of Hanno, written in Roman letter, into both Phœnician and Hebrew characters, and thus show their almost perfect oneness. The Hebrew, by this second modification, became a commercial tongue.

The third modification of the Hebrew language came from the residence of the descendants of Israel more than two centuries in Egypt; where Joseph became conversant with the Egyptian language, as contrasted with the Hebrew (Gen. xlii. 23), and where Moses became "learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians" (Acts vii. 22). A succession of Greek and Roman historians indicate that the learned fraternity who ruled in Egypt in the days of Joseph and Moses were allied to the Chaldean wise men, and to the Brahmins who wrote the Vedas; a truth illustrated by the fact that the Magians of Cairo Egypt, to this day use the Sanscrit language, and claim the title of "hakîm," or "wise men," used by Moses in his records. Bunsen, in his "Egypt's Place in History," makes these comments on the complete vocabulary of the ancient Egyptian

language, which he inserts (vol. iv., b. v., pt. ii., sect. 11, pp. 123–4): "The language of primitive Asia, the deposit of which is preserved in Egyptian, was Semito-Arian, not yet individualized; in which, however, the Semitic, or West-Asiatic element, decidedly predominates. . . . . It can be demonstrated that the larger half of all the ancient and modern Egyptian words now extant are historically, that is by natural descent, connected with the Semitic, and, as regards the original roots, with the Arian also." The careful student will find that Gesenius traces fully one-tenth of the Hebrew roots, including chiefly words relating to science and art, to their Indo European cognates, usually including the Sanscrit; while he traces more than one-fifteenth, including mainly words of the common people, to the opposite family of languages, the Coptic and Ethiopic. It is manifest that this third stage, the first in its literary history, prepared the Hebrew to serve as the language of law and of religious doctrine.

The fourth modification in the Hebrew tongue, the second in its literary history, was brought about by connection in a new relation, as a leading nation, with the Phœnicians and Greeks on the one side, and with India and Ethiopia on the other side; when commerce, social and learned intercourse, and association with the reigning

families of Syria, Arabia, Egypt, and India, brought in new arts and with them new words, which words stud the historical records of the kings of Israel and Judah, as they do the writings of the royal poets and of the inspired prophets. The fifth modification of the Hebrew tongue, the third and last of Old Testament literature, was that of the captivity of Babylonia; which period, from the conquest over the kingdom of Israel to the time of Nehemiah and Malachi, covered more than three centuries. In this period the great transition was this: the copying of all the Hebrew Scriptures, those of Moses included, from the Phœnician into the Chaldee letter; while also, to give a permanent monument of the changes which had come over the language since the time when Abraham spoke Chaldee, documents in pure Chaldee are inserted in the records of Daniel and of Ezra. These show that the main changes in words, originally Chaldee and always retained, were these two. First, the old Chaldee words, like the Hebrew, consisting generally of three consonants, were pronounced as monosyllables; the first consonant having a half, or clipped vowel sound, as in the Anglo-Saxon "gnarl" and German "knabe." Second, the old Chaldee grammatical structure, less elaborated than the Hebrew, points out everywhere the distinction between an old Chaldee word always in

the language and one inserted by the writers of the captivity. The distinction is illustrated in the word "ear" (1 Sam. 8 : 12, and Isa. 30 : 24) derived from the Latin "aro," to plow, introduced by the Romans among the Britons; whose early incorporation, unlike that of words of modern introduction such as "data," is indicated by its having taken on the English grammatical structure, "eared" (Deut. 21 : 4), and "earing" (Gen. 45 : 6 and Exod. 34 : 21). The vital point in the history of wines, as also of general Hebrew interpretation to be observed, is this: that as in English poetry old Saxon or Celtic words (such as "quick, wight, wot, yclept, eke, anon,") are relics of the most ancient spoken language, so the Chaldee words found in Hebrew poetry, as Exod. 15th, Deut. 32d, Ps. 103d, Isa. 40th, etc., conformed as they are to the Hebrew grammatical structure, are relics of the old mother tongue spoken in "Ur of the Chaldees"; and are the farthest remove possible from being testimonials of the late origin of those poetic writings.

HEBREW SEMITIC TERMS FOR WINES.

Usually generic terms, indicating a comprehensive *genus*, are common to different dialects in the same family of languages; while specific terms, or those indicating different kinds of a common article, are restricted to a neighborhood

or to people having close intercourse with each other. Thus, as we have seen, the Greek *oinos* cognate to the word for wine in all languages of modern Europe, is generic; while the term "gleukos" disappears in Latin and all modern European tongues, being supplanted by "mustum" and its cognates in *Western* Europe, though for twenty-two centuries it has held its place in Grecian speech.

Among the Hebrew words for wine, two are generic; while there are five prominent specific terms. The two generic terms are "chemer," the Semitic genus, and "yayin," the universal term; the former being cognate with the entire Semitic family, Chaldee and ancient Aramean, modern Syriac and Arabic; while the latter is cognate with the entire European family, including the Greek "oinos," the Latin "vinum," and their modern successors. The principal specific terms are "tirosh," or must in its different varieties; "'asis," or must in its sweetest preparation by boiling; "sobe," the Roman "sapa," or must boiled to half syrup; "mesek," mixed, spiced, or drugged wine; and "shekar," strongly alcoholic wine. The use of these terms is in wonderful and instructive contrast. "Chemer," the Semitic root, is used but twice, and that in poetry, as in Deut. 32 : 14 and Isa. 27 : 2; its verb, "chamar," is used five times, only in the poetry of David,

Job, and Jeremiah; and its Chaldee monosyllabic root, "ch'mar," is found six times in Ezra and Daniel. So, too, "'asis" is used but five times, and in poetry, by Solomon, Isaiah, Amos, and Joel; "sobe" occurs but three times in the poetry of Isaiah, Hosea, and Nahum, while its verb is found six times, only once, Deut. 21 : 20, in prose; "mesek" occurs but once, Ps. 75 : 8, and its verb five times, only in poetry; while "shekar" occurs twenty-three times, only twice in prose, Lev. 10 : 19 and 1 Sam. 1 : 15, and its verb nineteen times, only twice, Gen. 9 : 25 and 43 : 34, in prose. On the other hand, the principal specific term, "tirosh," is found thirty-eight times, nineteen times in history from the days of Isaac to Nehemiah; while "yayin," the comprehensive genus, is found one hundred and forty times, twice as often as all the other terms when added together, and in both the prose and poetry of every age. No earnest inquirer for truth can think lightly of this fact. If anything in history may be known, the meaning of these two terms may be satisfactorily ascertained when all the facts are brought together before the mind.

THE HEBREW "TIROSH" A SPECIES, INCLUDING "UNFERMENTED WINE" AS A VARIETY.

Prepared by the scientific, philological, and historic conclusions now established, the nature

of the Hebrew terms for wines receives new light. The principal terms calling for renewed consideration are these two, "tirosh" and "yayin." As to the discussion of these terms in the preceding volume, Dr. Alex. Meyrowitz, whose Hebrew scholarship is of unquestioned authority, has stated: "Its defining of the Hebrew words 'yayin' and 'tirosh' is as clever as it is true. The whole shows a thorough knowledge of the Hebrew literature, as well as of classical lore." Though unaided by Dr. Meyrowitz's learning in the preceding discussion, in this supplement credit will be given for his contributions. Of the three terms here to be reviewed, "tirosh" claims the first place.

Its derivation from the Hiphil of "yarash," illustrated by Job 20:15 and confirmed by the cognate Arabic, is farther demonstrated by the "laxative" properties of must, now traced in modern French writers as well as in the Grecian and Roman authorities formerly cited. Fuerst's four definitions, arranged in the order of production from the grape, show that "tirosh" is a species, with the varieties recognized by French and German, as well as by Roman writers, in "gleukos, mustum, must." Its translation in the Greek and Latin, the Syriac and Arabic, the German French, and English versions of the Old Testament show that the translators, if not their readers, have recognized its nature.

"Tirosh" is, first, as Fuerst states: "Saft der Traube," juice of the grape, as in Isa. 65 : 8; represented by the Greek translators as bursting the skin by its internal pressure and dripping from the clusters. In this its first stage, "tirosh" is in fact the Greek "protropos," the Latin "protropum," the medieval "lacrymæ Christi," the modern French "mere-goutte"; or the drops of saccharine juice, separated from the pulp, having in them no element of ferment. "Tirosh" is, second, "most," as in Gen. 27 : 28, 37; the Latin "mustum," and the English "must," which is the fresh juice of the grape as it comes from the mere crushing of the clusters before they are pressed, and which, when unstrained, will ferment, because it has more or less of the fermenting pulp mingled with the saccharine juice. This was drunk at the feast of the tabernacles, as Nehemiah intimates; by the Roman vine-treaders, as Virgil pictures; by the French peasants, as Dr. Duff, the Scotch missionary, states; and as French writers generally indicate by mere allusions; a custom like that of American farmers in the season of cider-making. "Tirosh" is, third, "der süsse most," or *mead;* the Latin *mustum decoctum*, or boiled must; the syrup, as De Sivrey notes, of which modern "sherbets" among the Muhammedan Arabs are made; to which Virgil alludes in his picture of the autumn evening as

spent in his rural home when a boy; and which is substantially the syrup of which all modern effervescing drinks are made in soda-waters. "Tirosh" is, fourth, "ungegohrener wein," unfermented wine, found, as Fuerst states, Mic. 6 : 15, and contrasted with "yayin," Hos. 4 : 11. This certainly is in keeping with one of the definitions of "most" given by Grieb as "ungekelteter wein," unpressed wine; it harmonizes with the modes of manufacturing "vins mutés" in the South of France; it is in keeping with the methods of the Romans for preserving "mustum" free from ferment all the year; it throws light on Aristotle's mention of "sweet wine" that "does not intoxicate"; and, in every respect, it is the last link in a chain of testimonies that the Hebrews in the age of Joseph had, like the Egyptians, wines guarded from alcoholic ferment in vessels saturated and covered with olive oil.

The relation of "tirosh" to the Greek "gleukos" is in several respects important. The definitions above given show that "gleukos" includes the three latter of Fuerst's definitions; namely, fresh must, boiled must or grape-syrup, and unpressed or unfermented wine. The Greek translator's rendering of "yayin" by "gleukos," in the expression (Job 32 : 19), "Behold, my belly is as wine which hath no vent," establishes these three principles: first, the fact that the term

"gleukos" was introduced into the Greek language at the time of their intimate association with Asiatics; second, that the effect of "gleukos," as of "tirosh" and of "mustum," is to cause flatulency and purging; and third, that "yayin" was recognized by the translators, acquainted with both the Hebrew and the Greek of their day, as the term for the comprehensive *genus* under which "gleukos," with its varieties, is included. This latter fact comes in again to show that "yayin" among the Hebrews of that day was regarded a universal genus. The relation, again, of "tirosh" to "mustum" in the earlier and later Latin usage is equally important. In the Latin Vulgate, which in terms for natural objects is substantially that of Jerome, the word "mustum" is used at Mic. 6: 15 in the precise passage cited by Fuerst to show that "tirosh" is unfermented wine. As Fuerst, in analyzing the meanings of "tirosh," had before him the work of his predecessors, German and English, all of whom render "tirosh" by "mustum," the fact is manifest that Latin translators and commentators, from Jerome to the Reformation, observed Jerome's discriminating idea. In ecclesiastical Latin, as well as in classic and Provençal, "mustum" has among its varieties unfermented wine. This recognition by Jerome that "mustum" was a species with varieties is seen in his rendering of

the Hebrew "'asis" by "mustum" in the Song of Solomon, viii. 2, for the English word "juice," and in Isa. 69 : 26 for the English "sweet wine"; while, moreover, his recognition of "yayin" as the comprehensive *genus* is proved by his rendering of it by "mustum" in Job 32 : 19.

In like manner the Syriac rendering of "tirosh' by three specific terms, and of "gleukos" in the New Testament by "meritho," used for "'asis" in Isa. 49 : 26, shows that the Syriac interpreters recognized the relations of "tirosh" and "gleukos" to be those indicated by the Greek translator. So, too, the rendering by the Arabic translator of "tirosh" by "'etsir," and of "gleukos" by "selafeh," leads to this manifest conclusion; that Bible students in the early Christian ages universally recognized both these terms in the Old and New Testaments as indicating a species with varieties, whose character as unintoxicating the translator clearly seeks to point out.

When, now, the translators of the age of the Reformation performed their work, everything bound them to a thorough and conscientious scholarship; for Wyckliffe, Luther, and Tyndale were animated by a spirit and held to an accountability such as could not have been excelled, if it were equalled, in the case of the Greek and Latin translators who preceded them. It is enough to

know how Luther dreaded the "drink-curse" to feel the assurance that he exercised care in his translation of Hebrew words referring to wine. In thirty-five out of the thirty-eight cases where "tirosh" occurs, Luther uses the word "most," showing that he regarded it a species. Again, Luther uses "most" for "'asis" in Joel 1 : 5, where the Vulgate has "dulcedo"; by "süsse wein" in Joel 3 : 18, and Amos 9 : 13, where the Vulgate has also "dulcedo"; by "most" in Cant. 8 : 2, where the Vulgate has "mustum"; while in Isa. 49 : 26 he has "süsse wein," where the Vulgate has "mustum." This rendering of Luther indicates these facts: first, that he made his study of Bible wines as independent and as thorough as his study of Bible doctrine; second, that he recognized that among the specific kinds of wine some were as unintoxicating as "must"; third, that his study and his intelligent interpretations had some relation to his dread of the drink-curse of Germany. Yet again, in Gen. 27 : 28, 37, and in Joel 1 : 10, where the context shows that the juice of the grape yet in the cluster is referred to, Luther renders "tirosh" by "wein"; thus showing that to him all products of the grape were *wine.* Yet once more, in Job. 32 : 19, Luther renders "yayin" by "most," as the Greek translator had rendered it "gleukos," and the Latin translator "mustum"; thus showing that

he, as they, regarded "yayin" the genus covering all products of the grape.

THE HEBREW "YAYIN" COGNATE WITH THE UNIVERSAL TERM "WINE."

As observed, the term "yayin" is used twice as many times as all other words of the Old Testament united which refer to wines; and this alone indicates that it is generic, covering all species. Yet more, all translations so regard it, rendering it by the generic term found in each language. Yet more, it is not Semitic; for no language ever has two perfectly synonymous terms, except when one is introduced from another family of languages, in which case the two words soon cease to be used as perfect synonyms; a principle illustrated in the Latin terms caloric, odor, flavor, etc., as compared with the Anglo-Saxon heat, smell, taste, etc. Yet more, all lexicographers state that "yayin" is cognate with the Greek "oinos," the Latin "vinum," and modern European words for wine; as the student of even Webster's English Dictionary finds illustrated.

Turning to Hebrew lexicographers, Gesenius defines: "yayin, so called from its fermenting, effervescing, see r. yōn." Turning to this word, according to direction, we read: "yōn, obsol. root, which prob. signified *to boil up, to be in a*

ferment"; and as no passage is cited, and such a root is so *obsolete* that no trace of it is found, and as it is *probable* only that it exists, the reader is prepared for the opposite conclusion of Fuerst, that "yayin" is not Semitic, but a universal root, back of which no earlier root can, perhaps, ever be traced. Gesenius then cites as illustrative, "Arab, *wain*, collect., clusters turning black," which has in it no suggestion of "effervescing." Yet more, he cites as cognate the Ethiopic word "wain" for wine; then the Greek "oinos," Latin "vinum" and Armenian "gini." Turning then to Fuerst, we find doubt thus expressed: "Yayin, from yin, if the noun be of Semitic origin." Citing then Isa. 55: 1, where it is coupled with fresh milk (chalab meaning *fresh*, as in modern Arabic), he adds: "The application of this term to wine in the Hebrew language is very frequent in prose; in poetry the Aramaizing *chemer* is the standing usage." Again he adds: "As to the derivation, a Semitic verb-stem has been *assumed*," etc. Yet farther: "The Greek *oinos*, Lat. *vin*-um, Germ. *wein*, Engl. *wine*, Armen. *gini*, etc., are obviously without any clear etymology in the Indo-Germanic; but they are identical with *yayin*, and seem to have come from the East. Arab. *wain*, a bunch of grapes, Ethiopic *wain*, wine." Not a shadow of doubt, then, rests on the fact, that in the wisdom of Him who wished His will to be

known as to the intoxicant, which, from Noah's fall to our day, has been, as Luther styled it, the "sauf-teufel," or drink-devil, (the tempter of Noah being, to the reformer's mind, the tempter most successful since the flood)—not a shadow of doubt rests as to the fact that the word known to all nations was selected by divine inspiration as the one in reference to which the least possible mistake could be made in the records which teach God's law as to beverages whose nature must be learned by the effects they are stated to produce. "Yayin" is like "oinos," and "vinum" and "vin," and "wein" and "wine," as universally generic as it is universally cognate; and the Divine mind, that has made its meaning in all human literature to be manifest to the reader, meant that it should be, as it has certainly been, manifest also to men responsible as translators.

WORDS FOR WINE IN RABBINIC HEBREW AND IN ARABIC.

The relation in which these two most familiar modern languages of the Semitic family stand to the Hebrew of the Old Testament makes the usage of Rabbinic and Arabic writers specially illustrative of the Old Testament teaching as to wines. Of the Rabbinic usage Dr. Meyrowitz says: "Yayin is frequently used in Rabbinic literature." Among other citations, he states

'Much is also said of *yayin nesek*, wine of libation, that is, wine a part of which has been employed in libations to idols; such wine being prohibited to an Israelite either as a beverage or in any kind of use." He adds: "The Jewish Rituals mention *yayin* too frequently for citation." After giving various citations of the use of the word "chamra," Dr. Meyrowitz says: "From the varied relations in which *yayin* and *chamra* are used in the Rabbinic writings, I would conclude that *chamra* is employed to indicate strong fermented wine, whilst *yayin* is employed for wine as a generic term." As to the history of the Hebrew language and the appearance of Chaldee terms, though with Hebrew grammatical structure, in the earlier Hebrew writings, the oldest of which he regards the book of Job, Dr. Meyrowitz says: "The Phenician language is certainly the principal source of the Hebrew language; for the family of Terah, the father of Abraham, spoke after his day Aramean, and in Phenician many Aramean words are found. Fr. Bottscher, in his Ausfuehr Lehrbuch der Hebr. Sprache I. 42, says: 'The Aramean words in the early books of the Old Testament are partly Aramean only, but partly also original Semitic words common to both languages.' So, too, we find, in Phenician, words which occur only in later Talmudic writings; *e.g. mazal*, Gr. tychē, Eng. fortune; and *pas*,

a board, etc. Of these Dr. P. Shroeder, in his Phenician grammar, says: 'If some words found in a Phenician inscription coincide with some words in modern Hebrew, the inscription is not necessarily of a late date. The words may be real old Canaanitic words, either never used in the Bible or unused until the later time.'" All history, then, accords with the fact that the word "yayin," as pronounced by the Hebrews, is a word common to all languages of Asia, Africa, and Europe. It may be yet found in some Indian record in the Sanscrit language; and it may be traced in some yet undiscovered Phenician inscription. It seems to be found in the old Egyptian word "utna," in Bunsen's vocabulary, meaning *libation;* while the local, and perhaps special term, "arp," is that used for *wine* as a beverage. However this may be, "yayin" is the universal generic word through which the Beneficent Being who directed the record of its history from the error of Noah to the virtue of Timothy, has seen fit to teach the "Divine Law as to Wines."

While the Rabbinic literature thus links the history of wines and their law in the past to the duty of the present through the truth embodied in the terms "yayin" and "tirosh," the Arabic terms, "chemer" and "sherbet," reveal a vital truth as to the law of wines recognized by the

followers of the prophet who professed to bring a revelation harmonizing the Old and New Testament, and designed to bring back the world of mankind to the faith of Abraham, who was "neither a Jew nor a Christian," but was truly "the father of all the faithful." The statements of the Koran, the opinions of its interpreters, and the deductions of lexicographers, must determine the question whether "unintoxicating wines" are now found, or ever have been known, in Palestine and other "Bible Lands." The condemnation of wines in the early writings of Muhammed (Koran, Sur. ii. and v.), and the picture of the wines of Paradise (Sur. xlvii., lv., and lvi.), of which the faithful are to drink to fullness, while yet "Their heads shall not ache by drinking the same, neither shall their reason by it be disturbed"—these two statements must have been based on facts which led the Persians to believe that it was only intoxicating, and not unintoxicating wines, whose use the prophet forbade; and those facts imply a knowledge of such unintoxicating wines. The harmonizing statement, as the Muhammedan commentators cited by Sale indicate, is found in Sura xvi. After urging that God makes all things good for man, while Satan tempts men and nations to pervert His gifts, Muhammed thus argues: "God sendeth down water from Heaven, and causeth the

earth to revive after it hath been dead. Verily herein is a sign of the resurrection unto people that hearken. Ye have also in cattle an example of instruction. We give you to drink of that which is in their bellies, a liquor between digested chyle and blood, pure milk; which is a salutary beverage to them who drink it. Now of the fruits of palm trees and of grapes ye obtain both an inebriating liquor and also good nourishment. Verily herein is a sign unto people who understand: thy Lord spake by inspiration unto the bee, saying, Provide thee houses in the mountains and in the trees, and in the hives men build for thee; then feed on every kind of fruit, wandering in the Lord's paths appointed for thee. Then there proceedeth from their bellies a liquor of varied color, wherein is medicine for men. Verily herein is a sign to them who consider." Every thoughtful reader will see in this use of "verily" and of parables, hints borrowed from Muhammed's study of the New Testament; in the allusions to wines that intoxicate as contrasted with products of the grape that give "good nourishment," are manifest the instruction borrowed by Muhammed from Jerome; in the example of the bee is the suggestion of the natural law of separating the juice from the fermenting pulp, which was observed by the Romans eight

centuries, and by the Egyptians twenty-four centuries earlier; while its harmony with Muhammed's statement as to wines of Paradise adds confirmation to the fact, that, to the writer of the Koran unfermented and unintoxicating wines were known, and by him were commended.

The definitions given by German and French masters of classic and popular Arabic terms for wines are of course directed by the same knowledge which guides lexicographers in other languages. The statements of Arabic lexicographers will rule students of Arabic, as Johnson and Webster rule English students. Their statements are reliable because comprehending the entire usage of all who have spoken and written the Arabic tongue; and are instructive even to the people for whom they are made, because the people themselves do not know the *common* and comprehensive usage of their own language. Freytag, in his "Lexicon Arabico-Latinum," Halle, Saxony, 1837, has these definitions: "*chemer*, vinum (potissimum ex uvarum succo paratum); *tum quoque* omnis potus inebrians," "wine (the strongest prepared from the juice of grapes); *then also*, all inebriating drink." The qualifying phrase as to "chemer," derived "from the juice of grapes," that it is the "*strongest* wine," implies, of course, that there

are *weaker* wines. Turning to the only word that explains this qualification, we find this definition: "*sherab* plu. *sherbet*, potus *pec.* vinum," "drink *especially* wine." Among derivatives mentioned, one has "aqua," water, as one of its meanings, and "aqua non dulcis," water not sweet, or, as the commentators indicate, water, not *simple* water; and yet another, "Portio potus qua expletur sitis," the amount of drink by which thirst is sated. Here the whole process of preparing and partaking (both as to quality and quantity) of the sweet drinks common among Muhammedans, made especially from grape syrups, is indicated by the classic lexicographer. Again, in the "Dictionaire de poche Français-Arabe et Arabe-Français," prepared by "L. & H. Helot d'Alger," published at both Paris and Algiers, and designed, as they state, "for military men, travellers, and merchants in Africa," these definitions are found. In the French-Arabic portion is this definition: "vin, cherab, khamr"; "wine, sherab, chamr." In the Arabic-French portion are found these counterparts. Under the second we read: "khamr; fermenter; vin; pétrir"; "to ferment; wine; to knead"; indicating that the ferment is radical, like that in bread. Under the first we read: "*chereb*, boire; *cherab*, vin; *cherbet*, boisson, potage"; that is, "*shereb*, to

drink; *sherab*, wine; *sherbet* (as Surenne defines the two words, each of double meaning) soup or porridge, beverage or raisin-water.' Here the modern French lexicographers, like De Sivrey, the paraphrast of Pliny, finds the "sherbets" of the Muhammedans to be a *species* under the *genus*, common in all languages; *wine* including unintoxicating products of the grape among the *scholars* of Arabia, as in all other nations.

JEWISH WINES AT WEDDINGS, AND AT THE PASSOVER, UNFERMENTED.

The exceptional comment on the Talmud made by Maimonides, a Spanish Jew of the twelfth century, and the exceptional case of the Spanish Jew at Hebron, Palestine, visited by Rev. Eli Smith before the year 1840, call for re-statement and written confirmation of the *rule* among the Israelites. Special facilities for intercourse with the Jews at Jerusalem in 1848, intimate acquaintance with eminent laymen for years at Washington, a successful effort in 1870 through President Grant, Secretary Fish, and Senator Sumner, then Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs, with the Turkish Minister, to secure for Israelites in Palestine the immunities granted to Christians in visiting the holy places, and frequent interviews with learned

Israelites of different countries and professions led to the statement as to their Passover wine made in the volume entitled "Divine Law as to Wines." Assured that a written statement would be more convincing, the following facts have been obtained in two letters from Hon. P. J. Joachimsen; whose intelligence as a judge, as well as the eminent culture and charities of his esteemed lady, are well known in New York. The first is as follows:

336 EAST 69TH STREET, *February* 15, 1881.

REV. AND DEAR SIR:

In answer to your favor of yesterday's date, I repeat that the great majority of conforming Jews in this city use wine made from raisins at the Passover Feast. Of course the raisins are *fresh*. Such raisin-wine is used in all conforming synagogues for the sanctification of Shabbat and holy days; *i. e.*, for Kiddush and also for services at circumcisions and weddings. Some, but not many, people use imported wine — Italian, Hungarian, or German — which is certified as "Perach," or "Kosher wine."

I am, yours most truly,

P. J. JOACHIMSEN.

In a note of February 16, 1881, Judge Joachimsen adds the following as to the nationality of Israelites in New York City, of whom there are from 80,000 to 100,000 in number. While assured that the "great majority of Jews in New York are natives of this city," the larger part being of German descent, he mentions:

"There are some few Turks, and a number of natives of Tangiers, Morocco, Tunis, Gibraltar. These attach themselves

to the Sephardim, on 19th Street, the so-called Spanish and Portuguese Jews. There is a specifically French congregation, and one specifically of Hollanders. The English, a few Irish and German Jews, including some from the Duchy of Posen (a Russian possession), form the membership in Henry Street, Christie Street, 34th Street, and 44th Street Synagogues. The Fifth Avenue Temple and the Lexington Avenue and 63d Street Temple are specifically German; while Lexington Avenue and 55th Street congregation are called Bohemian, from Bohemia, whose capital is Prague. The so-called Polish and Russian Jews, from Russia, Lithuania, and Poland, have usually synagogue-rooms in the buildings of Benevolent Societies."

It appears, thus, that by immemorial custom, handed down in all nations since their dispersion, Jews, adhering to the customs of their fathers, use unfermented "Raisin-wine," not only at the "Pesah," or Passover, but also at circumcisions and weddings, and even at the weekly "qodesh," or "consecration," on Friday evening, at the opening of their Sabbath. Even the Israelites, the testimonies of thousands of whom in different lands are personally known, regard Jesus as a sincere and earnest reforming Rabbi, who strictly conformed to the ritual established by the Jewish fathers. The conclusion is an induction which no impartial mind can escape, were there no other testimony; that, at the wedding and at the Passover, whose wines were provided by His own direct care, the customs of conforming Jews ruled Jesus in His provision.

MISSIONARY REPORTS AS TO WINES IN BIBLE LANDS.

The word "formulated," used to characterize the testimonies sought from missionaries in Bible lands during the last forty years as to unfermented wines, is the expression of the highest esteem and a meed of justice rendered to men absorbed in their work and wishing to know nothing else. This, the word "formulated" itself, the history of the testimonies obtained, and their bearing on the scientific and archæological question at issue, most emphatically confirm. The Latin term "formula" was used by Roman lawyers, as it is by modern scientists, to characterize testimony obtained to substantiate a previously conceived theory; and the verb, of recent formation, has a correspondent meaning.

In his great work, the result of studies begun in Europe in 1826, of a tour in the East made in 1838, and of three years of subsequent elaboration, published at Boston in 1841, and dedicated "to Rev. Moses Stuart" as "the fruit of studies begun in the bosom of his family," Dr. Edward Robinson either avoided, or had no occasion for controversy with his old and revered teacher. It is somewhat remarkable that while the culture of the grape was treated of at such length by Roman writers, and while, following

the Roman Tacitus, its varied products have been so closely analyzed in the land of Palestine by so many French and German explorers, only a single brief allusion is found in the volumes of Dr. Robinson (Vol. II., Sec. xi., p. 433, May 24, 1838); and that in a mere paragraph penned amid the miles of vineyards north of Hebron, and close by the numerous manufactories where "dibs," or grape syrup, is made. During the year preceding the issue of Dr. Robinson's volumes, while Rev. Eli Smith, his traveling companion, was at home aiding in the final revision, the writer of the article in the *Princeton Review* of April, 1841, above noticed, states that he "addressed a letter to Rev. Mr. Smith," asking a reply to these two questions: "Whether the wines in common use in Palestine were fermented and produced intoxication, and whether the wines of Lebanon were boiled." The tenor of Rev. Mr. Smith's statement, dated Kinderhook, November 10, 1840, while giving a negative answer to the second and an affirmative reply to the first question, indicates the varied motives which prompted it. Its essential points are these: "All wines around the Mediterranean are fermented, and do produce intoxication." He adds: "I used to take a little wine with my dinner"; but having found a special friend who had fallen into habits of intoxication from using the

common wine, he adds: "I then gave up my wine; and, so far as I know, all my brethren abstain from its habitual use as a temperance measure. In preparing a tract on Temperance for circulation in Syria, we have included wine with brandy as one of the causes of intemperance which should be avoided." He farther says: "I recollect, indeed, in traveling through Asia Minor, I frequently quenched my thirst with an infusion of raisins. But it was never called *sherâb*, the name given in Turkish to wine; but "ü zum sûyû," raisin-water. Even in the house of the chief rabbi of the Spanish Jews at Hebron I was once treated with fermented wine during the feast of unleavened bread." Farther on he says: "The principal word, indeed, in Arabic for wine, '*khamr*,' is derived from the word *khamar*, to ferment." Referring, then, in replying to the second question, to an article of Mr. Delavan in the *New York Observer* of August 24th, he says: "All discrepancy" between us "as to boiled wines is chiefly, if not entirely, verbal. He testifies that the unfermented juice of the grape can be preserved from fermentation by boiling. My testimony goes farther; and proves not only that it *can* be, but is *in fact* thus preserved to a great extent. The difference is, that he calls this syrup *wine*. I have not found it bearing the name, nor used in the place of wine." His ear-

nest desire not to be drawn into a position inconsistent with his real views and practice, is thus pressed: "You will perceive that I am no apologist for wine-drinking on the ground that the present wines of Palestine are fermented. These wines tend to intoxication, and therefore we banish them from our tables, though they are wines of Palestine. Nor do I wish what I have written to be regarded as in any way aimed against the principle of the American Temperance Union. Indeed, I am happy to find that any apparent discrepancy between the testimony here given, and that of Mr. Delavan in his letter to the editors of the *New York Observer, so far as facts* are concerned, is only apparent." With true appreciation of the fact that the personal observation of an individual is not to be compared with the range of facts brought by scholarship from all ages and lands, with men like Prof. Stuart and Dr. Robinson before him as examples Rev. Mr. Smith adds ingenuously, that as to the question whether there were not anciently unintoxicating wines in Palestine, "a person who has never been in Palestine is, perhaps, as capable of judging as myself."

The careful review of this statement of Rev. Mr. Smith, after forty years' illustration of its truth, are manifest: First, ministers and missionaries are to be commended, when in American

cities or in foreign lands they are so absorbed in their work as to know far less of secular matters, especially as to the character of wines, than the most casual observer in the world of fashion. Second, Rev. Mr. Smith's range of observation, as well as zest for this study, was limited, as his article of 1846, compared with that of Rev. Mr. Homes' of 1848, and his citing an exceptional case of one Spanish Rabbi as opposed to all his conscientious compatriots, is proof. Third, his recognized lack of means of judging as to the law of wines and their history, is confessed, as well as actually exhibited, in the share he took in Dr. Robinson's researches. Fourth, his view of "boiled wines" makes no discrimination between the varied Hebrew and Roman products as "'asis," or "defrutum," as "sobe," or "sapa," all of which were used as beverages. Fifth, his statement as to the Arabic "sherab" (plural, "sherbet," as usually pronounced), is really in harmony with the lexicographers; for he regards them "wines"; while, as De Sivrey, in his Roman comparison, states, and as every traveler in Turkey learns, they are unintoxicating wines. Sixth, the shrinking of Rev. Mr. Smith from being drawn into apparent conflict with either party in a home controversy, by giving formulated testimony, has been appreciated by men like Moses Stuart, Tayler Lewis, Geo. Bush, and William

Patton; whom nothing but the fear of neglecting duty has urged to the utterance of known truth not accepted by all their brethren whom they esteem and love, and whom they only seek to win to truth without dictating duty. Seventh, every statement of Rev. Mr. Smith, as to "raisin-drink, boiled wines, sherab, and khamer," finds its place as part of the comprehensive truth which science and history unite in confirming.

The same manifest fact is on the face of all statements made by different observers as to the testimony of Rev. Messrs. Wright, Perkins, Laurie, and others. Each one states facts as to his own observations; and each and all of these statements are in harmony as admirable as that of the four Evangelists in their records of Christ's history. So, too, as to the statement, not quoted from Dr. Perkins, but cited as a fact universal in wine-growing countries, that must is "drunk as our new cider," Dr. Moore's quotation on the next page (pp. 98, 99) is the explanation. Sojourning in the south of France, where, as we have seen, the Roman customs pictured by Cato, Columella, and Virgil still prevail, Dr. Duff writes, as recorded in his Memoir (Vol. I., p. 392): "Look at the peasant at his meals in wine-bearing districts; instead of milk, he has before him a basin of the pure, unadulterated 'blood of the grape.' In this, its native and

original state, it is a plain, simple, and wholesome liquid, which at every repast becomes to the husbandman what milk is to the shepherd—not a luxury, but a necessary—not an intoxicating, but a nutritive beverage." The reader of Tacitus, in his description of the fruits of Palestine in the age of the Apostles of Jesus, and of Jerome's picture of its wines, when, just after Constantine's day, the Roman Christians were seeking in non-wine-growing climes the whole truth as to Christ's example, the truly thoughtful reader instinctively carries back all these harmonizing statements, and holds them in mind as he reads of John and Timothy abstaining from wine, while Jesus was true at once to Jewish law and Roman virtue in His providing and employing the "fruit of the vine."

A single incident in the actual experience of a student-traveler will illustrate the validity of the methods of true research above stated as ruling. In a party visiting the tombs of Beni-Hassan, where the fullest representations of vine-culture, grape-gathering and treading, and of wine-preserving are presented, four distinct classes of observers are met. There are the Arab natives, who carry torches, water-bottles, etc.; who, having no conception of vine or wine, stare with wonder at the interest of foreigners in the pictured walls; and who, if asked, would declare

that nobody in *their country*—that is, in Egypt—ever heard of such things as grapes or wine-cellars. There are, second, the attendants of a Hungarian prince, like ordinary professional men in every land, so devoted to their special work that boys of twelve years know more about the common curiosities of their city residence than they, though old residents, know; and they, like clergymen, who in New York know nothing of beer-brewing or wine-making, need the simplest of explanations to comprehend the design of the Egyptian sculptors and painters. There is a third class, here represented by the cultured prince, speaking French like his escort, who has some little knowledge of Champollion's work, and who is specially interested, because of national pride, to follow Lepsius and Bunsen over their track of explorations made two years before, in 1846; and he enters with zest into the tracing of the methods of training and pruning the vines, of gathering the grapes in baskets and bearing them to the vat, of treading the grapes, of the streaming of the must from the upper and lower spouts, and of its dipping and pouring into the jars for storage after the oil-bearer has covered it with a thin coating, which shuts out the air. There is, fourth, the American student of art and literature, who has traced through the volumes of Napoleon's savants, fixing the outline of

their life-like drawings, mastering their exhaustive citations from Grecian and Roman writers on Egypt, and carrying as a guide-book Sir Gardner Wilkinson's condensed, but complete descriptions. Such an incident reveals the different impressions which Dr. Robinson as the fourth party, Rev. Mr. Smith as the third, ordinary business tourists as the second, and their Arab servants as the first party, might be expected to gain and to put into form in their respective statements. Of course the collation of all that was really seen and known by each and by all of these parties would give *the truth;* and truth really reached always harmonizes all facts attested by impartial observers.

CHARACTER OF RECENT WORKS ON WINES.

The work of Redding on Wines, London, 1836, and the later, more voluminous, and elegantly elaborated work of J. L. Thudichum, M.D., and of Auguste Dupré, Ph.D., from the press of Macmillan & Co., London and New York, 1872, are designed for amateurs; attempting nothing of scientific statement; having but few allusions to history; minutely describing only the existing wines, first of France, the leading and permanently scientific wine-growing country, and then of every other country in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America. They are

specially valuable for the end and class which prompted their preparation. Redding cites, for example, the tradition found by Marco Polo that Persia (really the home of Noah near that land) was the first wine-producing country; while this early traveler mentions the fact that he found Persian Muhammedans who drank boiled wines; a fact in accord with abundant testimonies that the Persian Muhammedans have always regarded Muhammed's teaching as forbidding only intoxicating wines, not those from which, by boiling or any other process, their alcoholic property has been expelled. Redding cites again Sir John Chardin as mentioning a fact as to the Turkish Muhammedans, which confirms Burkhardt and all authorities as to Turkish views of wine-drinking; the Turks, unlike the original Arabian Muhammedans, adhering to the Koran and its prophet only from policy. Chardin states that the Caliph Solyman, having been betrayed into drinking intoxicating wine, his son Hussein forbade its manufacture, sale, or use in the entire Turkish empire. The passage from Redding quoted by Dr. Moore does illustrate modern modes of making "raisin-wine"; but the student of Pliny will trace important modifications in ancient and modern methods whose details belong only to voluminous scientific treatises for wine-makers

The work of Thudichum and Dupré has occasional references to old Grecian and Roman methods of preparing fermented wines still in a degenerate form of use; which mere allusions suggest that if a thorough study of those Grecian and Roman writers, briefly but honestly cited in the "Divine Law as to Wines," were made for modern vintners, better *fermented*, as well as true *unfermented* wines, would be secured for the two classes of earnest inquirers, not necessarily antagonistic, who are now seeking for them.

The more important conclusion, from a thorough survey, to any impartial student will bring out fresh commendation to the works issued by the English and American Temperance publishing houses; commendation such as the issues of no society, scientific, archæological, or philological, can rival. It is easy to copy the style of superficial and destructive criticism; whose indirect condemnation was so universally echoed by the American press in commending, when his labors ceased, the peer of profound and generous critics, George Ripley. Any special pleader, however young or shallow, can, from the folios of testimony given in a complicated law-suit, pick out discrepancies in testimony; and find, too, *laches* in their presentation fallen into by the ablest advocate. But the

judge who is to decide in the suit—in this case the bench of impartial English and American Christian scholars—far from censuring, will even *commend* that absorption in a great truth which makes its advocate forgetful of all but *the* truth for whose defence he is responsible; a self-forgetfulness, recognized by Longinus as characterizing the eloquence of the great Christian apostle Paul, which made him heedless of critics on oratory, rhetoric, and even on grammar, while his grand mind was aglow with the conceptions of vital truth. Doubtless the rhetoric of one, and the inaccuracy of another of the advocates of unfermented wines in Bible history, may be subject to just criticism. It would be unworthy, in a simple searcher for truth, to press the rejoinder, "May not the same be true of the *opponents* of unfermented wines?" for, the people know that the temporary ardor of opposing advocates in a court-room never alters the truth each maintains, nor varies the decision of the bench, nor finally confuses a jury.

STUART'S TWO PROPOSITIONS SUSTAINED.

That seemed, more than forty years ago, a bold declaration of Prof. Stuart as to the existence and the attestation to the nature and use of unfermented wines in the Old and New Testament times: "There is no ancient custom

with a better amount and character of proof than this." Had Stuart possessed the time to have gone over the unbroken chain of chemical, philological, and historic proofs as to the existence among the Egyptians, where the Israelites were educated from Joseph to Moses, and among the Romans, where Jesus and His apostles lived—had he possessed the time to trace the whole line of translations and comments, Hebrew, early Christian, and Reformed, which embody facts rather than opinions as to Bible wines, Stuart might have settled this as he did other points in American Biblical criticism. Of course every impartial student will be his own judge; and the responsible defenders of Christ's truth, standing before earnestly inquiring Churches, as well as educators training youth for practical success and honor in life, can be trusted for this impartiality. To minds like that of Stuart the evidence will seem conclusive that his second proposition, his minor premise, a question of fact, is sustained by French chemists, scientists, and annotators on Roman history; and that Christ did make, use, and commend unintoxicating wine; while, also, it existed in the "tirosh" invoked in Isaac's blessing, is not in the wine set by Joseph before his brethren.

If the second proposition be sustained by

chemical and philological science, combining their testimonies in a chain not broken even in the middle ages when Arabian Muhammedans vied with Christians as scientists and philologians, then the first proposition is (without farther need of testimony) sustained; so that it is only the application of the two sustained principles to special statements of the Old and New Testaments which is farther called for.

APPLICATION OF STUART'S PRINCIPLES.

Coming, then, to this application, two general principles are to be observed: First, on two words of the Old Testament Hebrew, and on two of the New Testament Greek, namely, "yayin" and "oinos," cognate as well as the ultimate genus, and on "tirosh" and "gleukos," universally acknowledged to be the most common terms for the lowest species,—on the usage of these four terms decision hinges. Second, in determining usage as to their meaning, the Greek translation of the Old Testament made by Hebrews in Egypt—the land of College training—and the Latin translation of the New Testament made by Jerome in Christ's home, are the ruling lights; next to which come the Syriac and Arabic translations, and the comments of early Christian scholars living on the eastern shore of the Mediterranean; next to

them medieval, including Muhammedan scholars; next to them the translations and comments of the Reformers who wrote with such responsibilities resting on them, and with such opposers to convict them of error; and last, not first, modern German, English, and American commentators, called only to learn facts as to an art now almost forgotten, and to learn that art, not from personal conceptions beforehand entertained, but from historic testimonies.

Here the fact is met that for "tirosh," recognized by all as "must," the Greek translators, in thirty-seven out of thirty-eight cases, employed "oinos"; showing that "tirosh," the lowest species, is included in the genus; while Jerome, in more than thirty cases, uses "vinum" for "tirosh," showing that this Latin term is as truly generic as "oinos." Coming to modern translations, that of Luther being a specimen, the use of "most" for "tirosh" in thirty-five cases, and of "wein" in three cases, and those where it would be least suspected, shows that this great leader, who dared not translate an inspired record without thought bestowed on every word he used, was controlled by a knowledge, as well as a conviction, worthy to be now a guide. This same conclusion might be reached by numberless kindred connections of demonstrative research.

While this general care is manifested in the translation of terms for wine, special cases display a special thought on the part of translators. The thorough study of the terms rendered "drunk" ("shekar" in Hebrew and "methuo" in Greek) made by Castell and Cocceius, proves conclusively that wisdom guided the Greek and Latin, as well as the German and English translators of these terms. Thus in Gen. ix. 21, where "yayin," wine, is directly mentioned, and where its nature is made clear by its effects, the *act* of imbibing is expressed by the Hebrew "shatah," by the Greek "pio," by the Latin "bibo," by the German "trinken," and by the English "drink"; while the *effect* produced is presented by the Hebrew "shakar," by the Greek "methuo," by the German "trinken," and by the English "drink." Again, in Gen. xliii. 34, where the word "yayin" is not mentioned, but only implied, though the wines are proved to have been prepared by art, and specially guarded in oil-covered jars from alcoholic ferment, the same Hebrew, Greek, and Latin specific and contrasted terms are found as at Gen. ix. 21; while the German gives the common term "trinken," and the English translates "were merry." The care with which modern revisers weigh every word is but an index to the care of these more responsible original

translators. Again, in Jacob's statement, Gen. xlix. 11, "He washed his garments in wine," where of course the fresh grape-juice trodden out in the vat is referred to, it seems a violence to language not to recognize that "yayin" is generic, including the fresh product. Yet again, when in Num. xv. 5, xviii. 12, and xxviii. 14, and again in Deut. xxviii. 39, 51, and in Neh. xiii. 5, 12, 15, "tirosh" and "yayin" are, in the earliest and latest history, brought into such intimate relations as fresh products of the earth and as offerings presented to God, the thoughtful reader can hardly resist the conviction that Stuart was intelligent in his statement: "Whenever the Scriptures speak of wine as a comfort, a blessing, or a libation to God, and rank it with such articles as corn and oil, they mean—they can mean—*only such wine as contained no alcohol that could have a mischievous tendency.*" Yet once again: When in the statements of Solomon we read "Wine is a mocker" (Prov. xx. 1), "Look not on the wine" (xxiii. 31), "It is not for princes to drink wine" (xxxi. 4); and again, on the contrary, we read of "treading," and "gathering," and "pressing" *wine* (Isa. xvi. 10; Jer. xl. 10; xlviii. 33), and of children crying to their mothers, "Where is the corn and the wine?" (Lam ii. 12)—the common reader anticipates the scientific philologian in his assurance

that the wine forbidden to youth and to statesmen can not be the wine fresh from the cluster, which is as truly as wheat fit food for infant children. For, although before scientific and philological testimony a clear reasoner would hesitate to accept the *a priori* argument of Dr. Rich, yet when that chain of testimony has confirmed the fact that yayin is thus generic, the induction from facts compels the acceptance of that moral conviction as a rule both of judgment and of action.

A single passage may be taken as illustrative of the amount of care bestowed on the interpretation of many passages. In the English version, Joel i. 5 is thus rendered: "Howl, all ye drinkers of wine, because of the new wine." In the Hebrew is found, "yayin 'al 'asis"; in the Greek, "oinon eis methēn"; in the Latin, "vinum in dulcedine"; in the German, "wein am den most"; the French of 1805 is, "vin, à cause de la liqueur qui sort de la vendage"; and Cabey's version of 1843 has, "à cause du jus de raisin." On this passage Jerome comments at length, showing that his mind is on Pliny's statement that feasts are begun with unintoxicating products of the grape, and even with syrup and water; he urges "dulcia enim sunt vitia," for sweet wines are vices; he cites the harlot's art to begin with honey (Prov. v. 3)

and end with mingled wine (ix. 3, 5), and he cites Eph. v. 18, and his comments on it, in which wine is generic, covering all kinds, while the "asotia" is in the *use*, not in the *excessive* use of wine. Maurer, one of the most exhaustive of modern German commentators on the Minor Prophets, quotes at length from Jerome on this passage; especially showing that "'asis" is "mustum dulce, ex uvis, aut aliis fructibus, expressum," sweet must pressed out of grapes and other fruits; while "tirosh" is "mustum expressum ex solis uvis," must pressed out of grapes alone; while as to both he uses the expression, "succus calcando expressus," must pressed out by treading, *i. e.*, before the grapes are put in the press. Tracing a long line of commentators, two distinct views are found to have guided translators in reaching the connection indicated by the preposition "'al" of Joel, "eis" of the Greek translators, "in" of Jerome, and "um" of Luther. First, it may have been the drinker's view of the *future*, when the fresh trodden must, of which his wine is made, would fail, that would cause his howl of despair; or, second, his *present* physical condition, proceeding from the fresh must with which he began to strong wine, may cause his howl of drunken debauch. Jerome seems to have found this latter idea in the Hebrew and Greek; and this,

too, seems to have guided Luther in his rendering. Certainly translators and commentators have been prompted by sincere desire to know the exact teaching of God's words as to wines; or they would not have pursued, on a single statement, such exhaustive research.

In the New Testament the naming of "oinos" as a universal genus, and of "gleukos" as the lowest species, are so manifest that few are found to question the fact. The term "oinos" certainly includes the "neos oinos," or new wine, when yet unfermented it is put into the bottles. The wine made by Christ at the wedding has this succession of testimonials in confirmation: first, the fact that conforming Jews, of whom Jesus through His life was one, from time immemorial have used unfermented wine at weddings; second, the best, most costly, and always first-used wine, in ancient and modern banquets, has been the lightest, and among the Romans this was unfermented; third, Cyril, bishop of the Church in Jerusalem about A.D. 380, expressly declares this, while Geikie, in his now popular life of Christ, returns to the early Christian view as to the nature of the miracle. As to the charge against Christ that He was a "wine-bibber," all Christians regard it as much a calumny as that He was a "glutton" and a "friend" of abandoned women. That the "fruit

of the vine" used at the supper was unfermented, is confirmed by these testimonies: first, the natural meaning of the terms "fruit of the vine"; second, the immemorial custom of conscientious Jews at their Passover, which "cup" was the same used by Christ at the institution of the Supper; third, the direct statements from Clement, A.D 200, to Jerome, A.D. 400. That the "gleukos" was unintoxicating Cyril declared A.D. 380, while writers of the views of Horace Bumstead now admit this; and that "gleukos" was included under "oinos" lexicographers of every age and land agree. As to the view of Paul's advice to Timothy, the accordant statements of Eusebius, A.D. 320, of Athanasius, A.D. 325, of Cyril, A.D. 380, and of Jerome, A.D. 400, that Paul commended abstinence in Timothy (1 Tim. v. 23), as he had before enjoined it on the Church of which he was pastor (Eph. v. 18), is in accordance with all ancient and modern legislation as to wines. As to the quality of the wines commended by Paul, Roman writers and their French annotators show that "must" is their basis, if not their only ingredient; for it is not the alcohol, but the nourishing ingredients of wines, that constitutes their utility in chronic indigestion; while strong alcoholic wines were commended by Greek and Roman physicians for acute and painful disease, such as strangury and dysentery.

COMMON GROUND FOR AMERICAN PHILANTHROPISTS AND CHRISTIANS.

That it was not the excess, but the use of wines, which the ancients sought to control by law is seen in the entire list of prohibitions to youth, to women, to nurses, to men in public service, which Plato and Aristotle, Numa and Cato urged. That it is not the excessive use, but the intoxicant itself, that controls modern legislation is attested by the fact that it is not bread-shops, nor milk-dealers, that need to be restrained and prohibited; while all unite in the effort to restrict and suppress beer-saloons, and to supplant them by coffee-shops. It is not *wines*, but *intoxicating* wines, that earnest Christian leaders seek to have exchanged for the ancient unintoxicating wines; which Pliny states, though costly, as were choice fruits, were sought for the wealthy of his day. It is such wines that are now sought for the tables of the princely in wealth and intellect; and above all, for the table of the Lord around which the rich and the poor meet together. The noble condescension, if not the conscientious conviction, of American Christians can not fall behind that of Churchmen of England in seeking and permitting the use of such wines.

In closing this supplement to the "Divine

Law as to Wines," it is a cause of gratitude and gratulation that so little in the former argument or statement requires modification; and especially that no word used in criticism requires to be withdrawn. The reputed writer of the article in the *Princeton Review* of April, 1841, has been an esteemed and venerated associate in works of Christian philanthropy for more than thirty years; and the present prominent advocate of the opposing theory as to wines is an admired co-laborer in literary, educational, and Christian enterprise. The balance of congenial yet counterpart affinities and convictions only tends to strengthen the bond which maintains complementary truth. This genuine charity assures the hope and confirms the faith that the statement as to the former work may be realized which came from the pen of the venerated Dr. Meyrowitz; who as a Hebrew-Christian scholar is an intelligent judge, and as a non-abstainer is an impartial umpire, in affirming: "Even those readers who may not agree with him on the point of total abstinence must nevertheless admire the erudition of the writer; and the whole will, under God's blessing, serve '*ad majorem Dei gloriam.*'"

EARLY CHRISTIAN FATHERS ON UNINTOXICATING WINES.

REVIEW PROMPTING THE SECOND SUPPLEMENT.

CALLED again, seven years after beginning the survey, to develop more fully another field of testimonies as to wines, one specially controverted,—seeking impartially the teachings of the early Christian writers that the Lord God, man's only Redeemer, did not fall behind Roman virtue, and especially that He did not become the maker and drinker of intoxicating wine, still less that He compelled for all time the use of such wine in His sacred ordinance of the Supper, —the writer pauses, not daring to drown the voice of memories blest to himself; assured that they ought to be stated to those who need to see the truth and to follow the right at the present crisis in American social, national, and Christian reform.

Blessed with a maternal grandfather present at the struggle of Bunker Hill and responsible then as a legislator, whose resistance to church

corruption led him to the extreme of free-thinkers, equally blessed with a father who, as a clergyman, was a staunch supporter of evangelical Gospel truth, listening, as a child, to discussions of the three great American ideas alluded to in the introduction to this volume,—liberty in religious worship, servitude only minorage guardianship, constitutional restrictions as well as guarantees,—the memories of the accordant views of both these ancestors as to reform in "drinking-customs," are as vivid as if listened to but yesterday. Never will the memory fade of the relief that came to both, the reverent sire and the philanthropic grandsire, when Prof. Moses Stuart, of Andover, put forth the declaration stated on p. 330. It was a truth in science, morals, and religion,—like other convictions of that leader in the American School of Christian Science,—which has laid the corner-stone of American virtue, while it is also a "foundation-stone" in that structure of Divine truth and grace on which human redemption rests.

When in the spring of 1877 a criticism appeared in the *Examiner* of New York upon a proposition of a Presbyterian Synod that "unfermented wine" be used at the communion, in which it was urged that its employ was a duty to many reformed inebriates who plead for it,

and when the writer of that criticism stated that no such article ever existed, the memory of Stuart, of that sainted father, of that philanthropic and truly devout grandfather, could not be silenced. A courteous hearing, begun May 17, 1877, was granted in the columns of that journal; successive rejoinders coming from the pen of one scholarly opposer, but, as was lately announced, from the concurrence of three other esteemed scholars. That discussion led to a request from esteemed leaders of different Christian denominations, enforced by votes of two temperance organizations, that the entire range of testimonies be presented as to the existence of "unfermented wine." During a five years' survey this provision was found in all ages to be so linked with the evils which its invention was designed to overcome that the two could not be separated. That survey would have been impossible but for previous exhaustive studies, prosecuted from boyhood, in the history of science; as it was applied to magic and the fine arts, to ethics and laws, and to philosophy and religion; whose results, in published works, led to the call. The result was the volume entitled "The Divine Law as to Wines," published by the "National Temperance Society and Publication House," at 58 Reade Street, New York, in 1880. The field was so extended, the de-

mand for condensation was so great, the care in abbreviated digests was so difficult, and the impossibility of entire exemption from typographical error was so certain that its invitations to specialist-critics was expected and cheerfully accepted. The result has proved, however, that every link in the long chain of truth was so scanned beforehand that no grave error has been detected; the *laches* in the voluminous record of testimonies have, to impartial judges, revealed the fairness which so fully quoted authorities that no hidden tracks could be concealed; the spirit of courtesy has won the highest expressions of increased attachment from the venerable leader, in opposition to Stuart, alluded to on p. 456; while in his recently published dissent the other esteemed co-laborer, alluded to on the same page, associated with the writer as a peace-maker seeking an "irenicon" in more than one field of Christian survey, has frankly stated that he had not read the Supplement entitled "Science Interpreting History as to Unfermented Wine," when that dissent was expressed. The call for the fuller statement of the early Christian Fathers comes when four added years have made wondrous added progress in practical acceptance of the truth recorded on pp. 328–9. In that paper the term "unfermented" was properly applied to

wines, because it is the term of modern science, as also of Roman writers. In the paper here added the term "unintoxicated" is used, because the Christian Fathers dwelt on the *effect* rather than on the *cause* of the intoxicating element in wines.

THE SPECIAL OCCASION FOR THE SECOND SUPPLEMENT.

Since the issue of the foregoing Supplement, exception has been taken to citations from Clement and other Christian Fathers; as prior to its appearance the translations from Pliny and other Roman writers had been controverted. The second article of Dr. Moore in the *Presbyterian Review*, whose first article was fully considered in the former "Supplement" to this work, makes reference to the citations from the Fathers; but its appearance was delayed until that Supplement was issued from the press. Various other critics have noticed the statements of the volume. The words "direct statements" applied to Clement and Jerome (p. 454); the expression "commended unintoxicating wine" attributed to Ambrose, Chrysostom, and Augustine (p. 216); Cyril's reference to John ii. 10 (p. 212); the meaning of "el-jedîd" (p. 223); and the use of quotation marks with

"mustum" (p. 133), have been specially called in question. Other minor criticisms may be noted so far as relevant.

Statements appear "direct" only when the subject to which they refer has been distinctly understood; a fact especially true in the study of profound writers like Aristotle, the apostle Paul, Clement, and Jerome. Agassiz often quoted direct statements of Aristotle's Natural History which anticipated his discoveries; and in his last course of lectures at Cambridge he declared there were many statements of that "Father of Natural History" which can not be translated till their subject is made clear by rediscovery. Bancroft, the historian, expressed surprise when Paul's statements (Phil. ii. 12, 13) were quoted, that their balanced harmony had not by himself been perceived. Champollion, landing at Alexandria, Egypt, to verify his hieroglyphic system, was astonished when a Greek monk pointed out the full statement of Clement (Strom. v. 4). Careful scholars see harmony in Jerome's only apparently opposite statements as to the apostle Peter; that he was only a "presbyter" (1 Peter v. 1), and yet "held a sacerdotal chair ('cathedram sacerdotalem' List of Apostles) twenty-five years," and "was eminent ('praefuit,' Cont. Ruf. iii.) twenty-four years" at Rome; his superior apostolic

authority beginning A.D. 42, with his Divine guidance in the baptism of the first Roman convert (Acts x.); his recognized eminence at Rome appearing there the following year, A.D. 43 (Acts xi. 2, 18, and xii. 17); while his martyrdom occurred A.D. 67.

PRINCIPLES RULING INTERPRETATION OF THE CHRISTIAN FATHERS.

In applying these principles to the statements of the Christian Fathers as to "wines," these facts should be borne constantly in mind. Nearly all these early writers were called to meet the extreme views of Christians who contended that wine of no kind should be used, not even at the Lord's Supper. These conscientious men argued that wine was not known before the flood; that Noah sinned in making and using it; that the Nazarite law of Moses, adhered to by Samson, Samuel, Elijah, Daniel, John, and Timothy, was the Divine law; while they overlooked the fact that Jesus himself made and used wine. Hence, in meeting these scruples it was necessary that the line be drawn between intoxicating and unintoxicating wines; known in Isaac's day in the "tirosh"; specially impressive in the Roman virtue which sought unfermented wines; and recognized in the im-

memorial custom of the Jews at their Passover and at weddings; the testimonies to which facts fill the pages of this volume. That all these facts were before the minds of the early Christian Fathers their constant allusions show; and the *subject-matter* as to wines, attested now by French commentators on the Roman writers, must determine the character of their statements.

Two principles of more vital importance must be borne in mind. The *materialistic* tendencies of modern German Biblical criticism, and the charge on their part that the *spiritual* interpretation of the Old Testament held in all ages by experimental Christians is *traditional*, and hence unreliable,—both these tendencies of the modern philological school are to be carefully guarded against; and for these reasons: *First*, tradition as to *fact* is "history"; it is the record of phenomena observed, on which, as Bacon urged and Newton verified, all science must rest. Christ rejected traditional *opinions*, not historic *facts* clearly stated in the Old Testament (Matt. xv. 2–6). Paul, also, while rejecting traditions as to the *efficacy* of ordinances (Gal. i. 14; Col. ii. 8,) referred to the fact that, prior to the writing of the Gospels, all the historic facts of Christianity were "traditions" and "ordinances" traditionally reported; and that these

"traditions" were the very ground of New Testament truth (2 Thess. ii. 15; 1 Cor. xi. 2). Dr. Robinson taught that "traditions" as to localities and to historic events in Palestine are to be trusted as implicitly as in any other land; while *relics* and traditional inferences from facts are untrustworthy. If the opinion as to the *efficacy* of the wine at the Supper, entertained by many of the Fathers, is to be discarded, the fact that the wine used was "must," or wine kept in "oiled skins," and "wine mixed with water" when wine entirely free from alcohol could not be obtained—these statements of *fact*, not of opinion, must be received; otherwise all history must be rejected. *Second*, When the early Christian Fathers find the spiritual truth of the Lord's Supper in the Old Testament allusions to wines which *bless*, not in those that blast the drinker, they are certainly interpreting the Old Testament as did Christ and Paul. The frankness with which the "philological" as opposed to the experimental school of Biblical criticism now avow that Paul misinterpreted the Old Testament when he found spiritual as well as secular truth in their statements,—this frank avowal should prompt impartial judgment even as to the *opinions* of the Fathers; while French experts, rather than

German speculative interpreters, must be trusted as to *facts*.

NUMBER OF WRITERS, AND THEIR INTERPRETERS.

No less than fifteen of these Fathers are cited in this volume; and to this list five or six more must be added, that their united testimony, as well as their accord with Roman writers, may be made manifest. The leading Fathers, who give special testimony on wines, some writing in Greek, but more in Latin, grouped as to location, yet all living under Roman law, and from the second to the fifth centuries after Christ, are these: in Gaul, or France, Irenæus, 177 to 202, and Hilarius, 350 to 356; in N. Italy, Zeno, 260 to 268, and Ambrose, 370 to 397; at Constantinople, Lactantius, 320 to 330, and Chrysostom, 381 to 407; in Asia Minor, Basil, 370 to 379; in Cyprus, Epiphanius, 367 to 402; on the Euphrates, Theodoret, 420 to 457; in Palestine, Eusebius 315 to 340, Cyril 381 to 386, and Jerome 367 to 420; in Egypt, Justin, 150 to 165, Clement 191 to 202, Origen 228 to 254, and Athanasius 335 to 373; at Carthage, Tertullian, A.D. 197 to 211, Cyprian 248 to 258, Arnobius 300 to 310, and Augustine 387 to 430. In citing these witnesses, skirting the entire Mediterranean, the order of the centuries,

from the second to the fifth, may be followed; while the order of place under each century may be also observed. As the comments and appended documents of editors are an indispensable guide to the interpretation of the Christian Fathers, and as the French are the best acquainted with wines, not only German and English editions, but also French editions must guide. Among such editions those of Migne are superior; whose series of the Latin Fathers, beginning with Tertullian, was issued at Paris in 1844; and whose series of the Greek Fathers, beginning with Clement of Rome, was published in 1857. The illustrative notes of Migne, drawn from Roman and later writers, and written in the only country that fully keeps up the customs of ancient wine-making countries, are an invaluable aid in translation. The vital and deciding guide in weighing the testimony of these Fathers is presented in the statement of Dr. A. A. Hodge, of Princeton, in his balanced criticism on the second article of Dr. Dunlop Moore, found at p. 395 of the *Presbyterian Review* for April, 1882. Dr. Hodge says: "The single point essential to the position of Dr. Moore, and those who sympathize with him, is the fact that *the word 'wine' means only and always juice of the grape fermented*, and that the same was made and drunk by

Christ, and used by Him as one of the elements of the Last Supper." Attested as the counter fact is by the French and Roman authorities cited in the first Supplement, Dr. Hodge's principle must be accepted as a controlling guide in interpreting the statements of the early Christian Fathers.

JUSTIN AND IRENÆUS IN THE SECOND CENTURY.

Justin, writing in Greek, at Alexandria, Egypt, A.D. 150 to 165, in his dialogue with Trypho the Jew (c. 69), draws attention to the contrast, in Jacob's blessing on Judah, between the "wine" which is the "blood of the grapes" and that which makes "the eyes red" (Gen. xlix. 11 and 12); and he says the priests of Baal who opposed Elijah, like the Egyptian priests, deified Bacchus and "introduced into his sacred rites" that wine which Moses intimated was "from the devil." Associated with the citations before made (p. 204) this allusion directly indicates the distinction in wines described by Pliny a generation only prior to Justin's age. Irenæus, familiar in his early life in Asia Minor with primitive Christian customs learned from immediate disciples of John, bishop at Lyons, France, A.D. 177 to 202, familiar certainly with wine-making in Southern France, meeting the

extremists who would exclude wine even from the Lord's Supper, indicates clearly the custom to which his successors allude when he meets the objection to the use of wine at the Supper, by the fact that it was a "mingled cup" (p. 203). These preceding testimonies, that of Justin living at the same location especially, throw light on the testimony given in the next generation.

CLEMENT, THE LEADING WITNESS, CLOSING THE SECOND CENTURY.

Clement, the profound and comprehensive Greek scholar, writing, A.D. 191 to 202, at Alexandria, Egypt, familiar alike with Grecian philosophy, Roman science, and Egyptian mysteries, is, as all thorough students have agreed, perfectly labyrinthine in the intricacies of his citations. In his "Paidagogos," or Disciplinarian, treating of physical as well as of mental training, he gives two long chapters to diet (B. II., c. i. and ii.). He quotes directly Plato, Aristotle, and other writers who discuss "wines"; and he indirectly or directly cites from the whole field of Grecian and Roman as well as of Old and New Testament literature. His editors, especially Migne, quotes Plautus, Pindar, Cicero, Virgil, Columella, Varro, Plutarch,

Galen, and others; the very men who treat of unfermented wines as the resort of Roman wisdom. In his first note, on ch. i., Migne quotes this statement of Heinsius: "Nothing is more common (familiarius) with Clement than to cite, as they come into his mind, or to accommodate to his purpose, mere clauses (versiculos) of authors"; and in some cases the editor is in doubt, after quoting four or five Greek poets, to decide which was in Clement's mind as he wrote. The extreme conciseness compelled in the citations made pp. 199 to 202, and the difficulty of guarding by full and half quotation marks between quotations, citations, and quotations within citations, requires the more complete and yet necessarily select and condensed abstract which follows.

In ch. i., on "Feasting," the use of wine is prominent. Clement says: "We do not abolish social intercourse; but we look with suspicion on the snares of custom as a calamity." Quoting from Antiphanes, a Greek poet of about B.C. 370, he condemns, as Paul does (1 Cor. xi. 17–22), the associating of a feast with the Lord's Supper; and says: "The Supper (deipnon) is through love (di'agapen), but is not love (agape)." Migne, in a note, observes that both Jewish and Grecian "snares of custom" are here in Clement's mind. Citing the word

"asōtia" (Eph. v. 18), Clement says that the abandoned are called "asōtous," since they are "asōstous," past salvation; and he cites in point the Epicurean motto, quoted by Paul (1 Cor. xv. 32), as opposed to Gospel redemption. He then cites Paul's recommendation of abstinence from wine (Rom. xiv. 21, 22), and adds: "he agrees in this with the Pythagoreans." Here Migne, in a note, quotes the Pythagorean philosopher cited by Athenæus, who says: "The disciples of Pythagoras drink no wine." Clement adds that Moses required abstinence in priests (Lev. x. 9–11) because of the tendency in wine-drinkers. He alludes to John the Baptist as "overstraining abstinence" (hyperteinas ten egkrateian), and thinks the "Engkratites," or total abstainers, err as to Christ's example. He cites Moses' forbidding the Israelites to partake of feasts with idolaters; and says that "Plato fanned the flame of Hebrew philosophy" when he condemned the luxury which he met at Syracuse and Italy; in which allusion Plato's laws (see pp. 113 to 120) are manifestly before his mind. Clement adds that Plato was "not unacquainted with the simple fare of David and his men"; indicated 2 Sam. vi. 19, as stated by the "Greek translators"; an allusion of marked significance. The Greek translation of the Hebrew "eshi-

shah," a translation made about B.C. 250, was "laganon apo teganōu," a cake from a frying-pan. On the other hand, the Talmudic commentators of Clement's day made it cognate to the Aramæan word "'atsîts," a wine-flask; whence our English version, "a flagon of wine." This derivation Fuerst declares erroneous; while Gesenius regards David's provision as "raisin-cakes," distinct from grapes dried in the sun, consolidated by pressure; from which "raisin-drink," alluded to by Rev. Messrs. Smith and Homes (pp. 247, 250, 436), is still prepared. This allusion of Clement, and the extended study it requires, illustrates Champollion's surprise that his mere allusions were "direct statements." Clement closes ch. i. with an allusion to Aristotle's law of temperance (see pp. 123–24) which indicates that he associated it with his previous statements and regarded it the Christian law.

Clement opens ch. ii., on "Drinking," with an allusion to 1 Tim. v. 23, as "a little wine," and that "only as a medicine"; and his allusion indicates his recognition of medicinal wines as made from "must," and as unintoxicating. This the French editor indicates; since he frequently cites the Roman writers who preceded Clement and recognizes the statements of French commentators on those writers (see pp. 357, 370,

394 to 397). Alluding, then, to the wine of the Lord's Supper, he mentions it as "the blood of the grape-cluster" (aima tēs staphulēs); and then twice alludes to the fact that in his day "wine mixed with water" was used. On this Migne has this note: "The author alludes to the Eucharist, in which not pure wine (vinum purum) but that diluted with water (aqua temperatum) was wont to be offered. Very many Gentiles (ethnici) also drank undiluted wine at feasts. Those in the habit of drinking unmixed (merum) were held to be disreputable (infames)." Migne adds: "Diluted wine was also prescribed in the Jewish Passover. Maimonides refers to this 'De solemnitate Paschali,' c. 7. That Christ had introduced this custom (ritum) into the Supper, Irenæus thus records (tradit. L. IV., c. 57): 'temperamentum calicis, suum sanguinem confirmabat; the dilution of the cup He established as His blood.' That the ancient church celebrated the Eucharist in diluted wine, Justin, the martyr, three times declares (Apol. I., pp. 125, 128, 131, edit. Oxon). Irenæus calls the sacred cup 'kekrammenon poterion' (Lib. v., c. 2). Cyprian reproves the lack of either, whether wine or water; saying (Epist. 63): 'In consecrating (sacrificando) the Lord's cup, water alone can not be offered, as wine alone can not.' I pass over remaining testimo-

nies of other ancients (veterum) to the same point."

Turning from the two necessary uses of wine, as a medicine and in the Lord's Supper, Clement commends abstinence from it as a beverage (see p. 200); and adds: "Water is the healthful (physikon), the unintoxicating (nēphalion), and the necessary (anagkaion) drink." On the word "nēphalion," here used, editors cite Aeschines' Eumenid., 107; Sophocles, O. C. 481; Plutarch, ii. 132, as stating that the ancient pure offerings to the gods were "nephaliai thusiai," unintoxicating sacrifices, among which was unfermented must. Clement, then, alluding to the theme of his book, pictures Israel as "trained (paidagōgēmenois) on water in their wandering" (planēs); and adds, that on their entering the promised land "the Lord gave them as a sign (sēmeion) the grape-cluster (botrun) from Eshcol, wishing the blood of the grape-bunch (staphules) to be mixed with water (hydati kirnasthai)"; plainly having in mind that fresh juice of the grape is but sugared water. Clement adds: "Double (ditton) is the blood of the Lord; wine with water." On the word "ditton" Migne cites the words of Sixtus Senensis; who, as Pope, quotes the like sentiment of Jerome, and says: "The words of Jerome are explained by the rule concerning Sacra-

ments and the import of the sacrament (regulâ de sacramentis et re sacramenti); by which we are taught that the blood of Christ is twofold (duplicem)."

Proceeding, yet again, from the use of wine in the Lord's Supper to the kinds of wine which should be used as a beverage, Clement cites two poets so briefly that the editor seeks in vain assurance as to the author alluded to. The first is to this effect: "Do not drink wine that inebriates"; after which Clement pictures the indulger as at sea in a storm; the mind (nous), the pilot, enveloped in fog (nephele); the heart tossed as on the waves of the Libyan Sea, where the south and north winds (Notos kai Boreas) contend; and Clement exclaims: "Thou seest the hazard of shipwreck." The other is: "Akrosphalēs gar he tou oinou pareisdysis"; "a precipice-slip is the loop-hole entrance of wine." Migne searches the Greek poets from Homer down, quoting several; and leaves his reader in doubt. In his picture, founded on these obscure citations, Clement says that abstaining from intoxicating wine, "our soul (psyche) may commence existence (hyparxai) pure (kathara), dry (xēra) and plant-like (phytoeides)"; and, he adds: "A clear light (auge), indeed, is the dry soul, the wisest and the noblest; nor is it saturated

(kathygros) with the fumes of wine (tou oinou thumiasesi)." The term "plant-like" indicates that a man who, like the plant, drinks water is contrasted with the wine-drinker; while "dry" is contrasted with "saturated." Migne proceeds to prove that "dry men" are put "for sober men" (sicci homines pro sobriis); he quotes Plautus, Pindar, Cicero, Plutarch, Varro, Athenæus, Stobæus, Musonius, and others; and, to indicate that Clement's view of Christian duty is in keeping with that of other early Christian writers, he cites the same expression of Eusebius (Præp. Evang. L., viii. c. 5), "the dry soul is the wisest and the noblest."

Pointing out, now, how wine that is free from danger may be secured without resort to imported unintoxicating wines, Clement says that it is not necessary to go to special locations. Alluding to "Ariousian" wine, obtained from the Isle of Chios, he says that a like native wine may be secured, and should satisfy the Christian. On this Migne cites Epicurus, Strabo, Plutarch; adding that "very many" agree as to the nature of this wine. Migne illustrates its character by this line of Virgil: "Vina novum fundam calathis Ariusia nectar." Searching through the Greek and Roman authorities thus merely hinted by Migne, this re-

sult is attained. The passage cited from Virgil is found Eclog. v. 71. Ariusum, written also Arvisum, is a promontory of the Isle of Chios, whence nectar-like wines were obtained. The Greek term "nectar" is derived from "nē," privative, and the root "ktan," meaning "destroying," so that nectar is a wine "not-destroying." In the Greek poets it is the drink of gods only; intimating that *superior* men, as the Grecian deities were, confine themselves to it. Homer calls it "eruthron," red (Il. xix. 38, Odys. v. 93), showing that it is wine; Hebe pours it for the gods (Il. iv. 3); unlike intoxicating wines, it is drunk unmixed (Ods. v. 93); it is "aporrox" (Odys. ix. 359), *i. e.*, made from the dripping juice of grapes that have burst their skins on the cluster (see pp. 74, 148); it is "melissa" (Eurip. Bacc., 144), honey-like, or made of the same pure saccharine juice as honey (see pp. 109; 374–5; 380–2; 427). Virgil uses the word "nectar" four times. On Eclog. v. 71, "I will pour Ariusian wines, new nectar, from lily-shaped cups," the Delphine editor states that in the ordinary Greek "crater," *i. e.*, "horn," or "horn-shaped" cups, the Greeks "mingled wine with water" (vinum aquâ miscerent); while Virgil states that "fresh nectar," unintoxicating wines, were poured from "calathis," lily-shaped cups; in token, as

editors intimate, of the purity of this wine. In the Georgics (iv. 164) Virgil, having pictured the gangs of bees, some gathering food, others building the waxen cells, others caring for the young, adds: "Others press out the purest honies and distend the cells with liquid nectar." In the midst of the same poem (iv. 384) he pictures the Nymphs as sprinkling the fire on the altar of Vesta "with liquid nectar" (liquido nectare); thus showing the connection in which the rural poet, accustomed to the preserved "must-wines" of his native Mantua, familiar, as his Georgics show, with the writings of Cato, Columella, Varro, ever associated these unintoxicating fruits of the vine. It is noteworthy that it is on the African coast, at Carthage, the home of Tertullian and Augustine, that Virgil pictures the Trojan Eneas, the future ancestor of the Roman patricians, as meeting the same pure product; the poet (Æneid I., 433) using almost the very words of his Georgics as he sets forth the delight of the exile as he beholds the bees gathering "flowing honies" (liquentia mella), then distending the cells "with sweet nectar" (dulci nectare). That editors do not put their own thought into these multitudinous allusions of Clement is seen by his own statement which follows. He cites Artorius on "Long Life"; who commends as a beverage

"sweet juices of the grape" (chymous edeis); whose nature (alluded to pp. 404, 428), is set forth by Aristotle and Greek medical writers. In his note touching Ariusian wines, and this connection in Clement, Migne cites Athenæus L. I., c. 25: "de reliquis vini speciebus lusius agit." The term "lusius" is medieval, derived from both the Greek and Latin verbs "luō," in the sense of "to purge"; the statement being: "among other kinds of wine it acts as more aperient."

Returning to Christ's making and using wine, Clement says that though He made wine of water for guests at a wedding, "He did not put them in the way (epistrepse) to become intoxicated." Alluding to the charge that Christ was a "wine-bibber" (oinopotes), Clement, while contending that He used wine, holds that He was no more a "wine-bibber" than that He was "gluttonous." He asks: "How (pōs) dost thou suppose the Lord drank when for us He became man?" He responds: "Was it shamelessly as we?" He adds: "Ouchi asteiōs, ouchi kosmiōs, ouk epilelogismenōs?" The derivation of these three adverbs, and Sophocles' explanation in his Lexicon of the Byzantine Greek, quoting this passage from Clement, leads to this legitimate rendering: "Was it not as a citadel-sentinel, as a State-officer, as a man

ruled by reason?" The allusion in this very connection to Aristotle's view of "temperance," and to Plato's laws as to wines previously cited by him, are conclusive, that Clement regarded those laws as binding on Christians. Alluding again to the wine of the Lord's Supper, Clement represents Christ as using the language: "Touto mou esti to aima, aima tès ampelou"—"this is my blood; blood of the vine"; and Migne, in a note, says: "To Clement it is the same, the blood of Christ and the blood of the vine." Alluding yet again, in closing, to Aristotle, to Elpenor (Iliad I., 589) cast out of heaven for using intoxicating wine, to Amos vi. 6, and to Noah's fall, Clement uses the term, "ou tetuphōmenon poton," a drink not self-blinding, as that becoming Christians; a term thus interpreted by Migne: "Hoc est, vinum fastum prae se ferens"; that is, wine advertising its own disgrace.

TERTULLIAN, WITNESS AT CARTHAGE, OPENING THE THIRD CENTURY.

Passing from Alexandria to Carthage, Tertullian, writing A.D. 200 to 220, almost contemporary with Clement, the earliest and the model Latin father, brings out two aspects of the Christian Church, as related to wine in his age and location. In his "Apology" he recalls the vir-

tues of the early Romans, lost by luxury; which virtues it was the mission of the Christian faith to restore. He says (c. vi.): "As to women those institutions of our ancestors (majorum) have fallen into decay; . . . . when women abstained from wine under such a rigid rule that a matron was put to death on account of breaking the seal of the wine-cellar. Under Romulus, in fact, a wife was slaughtered with impunity by her husband Mecenius." Tertullian adds that for "six hundred years after the building of the city this law had been observed at Rome"; and he defends the Christian faith as giving the only hope for a return to the primitive abstinence. In his treatise addressed to "Wives" (ad Uxor., L. I., c. 8, 9), Tertullian dwells on Paul's picture (Phil. iii. 19), of the lustful, whose "god" is appetite; who make their "shame" their "boast"; whose "mind" never rises above the material; and he says that "in the woman wine-bibber" (vinosa) this is especially unbecoming. Migne, annotating on Tertullian's citation of Roman law under the Republic, quotes Varro, Pliny, and Valerius Maximus; the very writers that sought to meet the luxury of the Empire by describing and commending unfermented wine; a fact which must interpret Tertullian's allusion to the wine of the Lord's Supper in his treatise against Marcion; his "Apolo-

gy" certainly being in harmony with the latter treatise. To meet Marcion's objection against Christ's appointment, Tertullian (adv. Marcion, L. iv., c. 40), quotes Gen. xlix. 11 and Isa. lxiii. 1. The former passage, as Christ was descended from Judah, he says, prefigured the wine of the Supper. The patriarch by the words, "in vino stolam suam, et in sanguine uvae amictum suum," inspired as a prophet (1st Pet. i. 10, 11), the spirit of Christ speaking through him, is seen "setting forth the robe and cloak as flesh, and the wine as blood (stolam et amictum carnem demonstrans, et vinum sanguinem)." Tertullian adds: "And so he has now consecrated (consecravit) his blood in wine who then symbolized (figuravit) wine in blood." There can be no question, all lights converging to reveal the fact, that to Tertullian "the fruit of the vine" at Christ's Supper and "the blood of the grape" in Jacob's vision were the same; since Tertullian regards Christ Himself as speaking through Jacob. Commenting then on Isa. lxiii. 1, seeking by it to meet Marcion's objection that Christ appointed wine for the Supper, Tertullian says: "You may recognize (recognas) the ancient figure of blood in wine, ... of flesh trampled together and wrung (conculcatae et expressae) by the force of suffering from the vat of the twist-press (de foro torcularis.)"

ORIGEN, THE ALEXANDRIAN WITNESS, IN THE THIRD CENTURY.

Origen succeeded Clement at Alexandria, A.D. 228 to 254, in meeting Marcion as opposer of the Encratites, conscientious errorists as to Christ's appointment of wine for the Supper. His statements briefly cited (pp. 202, 203) appear direct when full quotations and comments are examined. In his extended Homily on Jerem. xiii. 12, Origen says that, to a right understanding of the prophet, regard must be had to both the "differences (diaphoras) of wines and of skins (askōn)"; and also to the irreverent reply against God of "the kings, priests, prophets, and inhabitants of Jerusalem" (v. 14), whom Jeremiah as God's inspired herald (ch. i., vs. 7 to 10) was addressing; and he quotes at length, especially from David's Psalms, using the Greek translation, whose numbering the reader must correct in references. As to wines he makes, first, two fundamental divisions, and then a third subordinate. There is an injurious (mochtheros) wine, and he says: "See how (pōs) from the Scripture (Graphēs) one is to understand (labein) the differences of wines (diaphoras tōn oinōn)." One is that "of the vine of Sodom" (Deut. xxxii. 32) destructive as in Lot's day; the other is "of the vine of

Sorek." The word "*Soreq*," a proper name in Judg. xvi. 4, a special term for a choice red grape in Isa. v. 1 and Jer. ii. 21 as the modern Arabic indicates, cognate with *Soreqah* rendered "choice vine" Gen. xlix. 11, indicates, as Origen shows by his citations and his reasoning, an unintoxicating wine; for he cites Psal. xxiii. 5, Prov. ix. 5, Isa. v. 1, and Psal. lxxviii. 47, as explaining his meaning. That the difference of wines produced at these two locations, Sodom and Sorek, is in the mode of preparing, not in the climate or soil, is manifest from the fact that Sodom, Eshcol, and Sorek are in the same belt, running from east to west across the territory of Judah, promised by Jacob; a fact having an important bearing on what follows in Origen's homily. This contrast in wines, Origen proceeds, is presented by David (Psal. xxiii. 5) and Jeremiah (xxv. 15); and he exclaims: "If thou wishest to see what the righteous drink, heed the counsel of wisdom and love (Prov. ix. 5 and Cantic. v. 1), 'Drink of the wine that I have mixed (ekerase) for you.'" Here the commentators on the verb (kerannumi) state: "From Homer down, it is used mostly of diluting the strong syrup-like wines of the Greeks and Romans, and so preparing them for the table. See Il. iv. 260; Odys. iii. 332, 393; v. 93; xviii. 423; xxiv. 364."

Origen continues: "See the Savior (Sotēra) at the Passover delighting (euphrainōn) His disciples with unmixed (akratō), saying: Drink; this is my blood! Seest thou the Gospel, which is the cup of the new covenant (kainēs diathekēs)?" Then in an eloquent appeal he adds: "I see two cups of unmixed"; and pictures one in the right, the other in the left hand of God; one that of Jeremiah xxv. 15, and of David in Psal. lxxv. 8; the other that of Jeremiah ii. 21, and of David in Psal. cxvi. 13. He asks whether they will take the cup of salvation or the cup of punishment. Picturing the *nature* of this *latter*, he continues: "Seest thou the cup of punishment is of unmixed, full of admixture (akratou plerēs kerasmatos)?" There is yet another cup, he proceeds: "The semblance of punishment (eidos kolaseōs); a cup mixed (kekerasmenon) in such a manner that it is mingled (kinasthai) according to the desert (axian) of the useful deed (tēs chrestēs praxeōs) mixed up with injurious deed (anamemigmenēs mochthera praxei)." He adds: "Understand me; abandoned sinners drink of the unmixed of punishment"; believers "of the unmixed of the new covenant." To explain, returning to the distinction of skins, he says: "Therefore every skin, whether good or bad, shall be filled with wine of its own quality; and, according to

the determined purpose (epitēdeiotēta) of the skin wine will be poured into it." He adds that if the unmixed wine of punishment is sought, "Oil (elaion) is not poured (balletai) into the skins, nor any other lubricating material (ugra hylē)."

This last and most difficult study of commentators has received light from varied sources. Heinsius states: "Jerome regards this statement of Origen as indicating three cups: the pure-strong (meracum) for the impious (impiis); the mixed (mistum) for those who walk unsteadily (titubant) in the way of virtue and advance with uncertain steps; and that of the new covenant for saints (novi testamenti sanctis)." That "meracum" implies strong "merum" as applied to wine, Cicero and Horace indicate; the latter applying to it the term "helleborum," or drugged; hellebore, from the days of Hippocrates, being prescribed as the most powerful anæsthetic known to the "materia medica." As explanatory of "the cups in the right and left hand," reference is made to Homer (Iliad I., 595–6); who pictures Vulcan as "pouring out wine" (oinochoeō) to the gods, in token of a truce in their disputes, "towards the right" (endexia); the "wine" thus poured being "sweet nectar" (gluku nektar); a testimony most manifest that in the earliest Grecian his-

tory a "wine" that was "unintoxicating" was in common use, and the beverage of heroes; a direct illustration, too, of the wine here referred to by Origen. To illustrate the twofold "akratos," written "akrētos" by Homer, the words of Agamemnon, uttered when, in violation of the truce, a Trojan bowman shot Achilles in the breast, are in point; Agamemnon citing the "aima te arnōn, spondai te akrēioi kai dexiai," or the treaties ratified by blood of lambs, and by wine unmixed, and presented with the right hand. This sacred truce, as he says, "the Trojans have trampled, which we have kept"; and as this truce is compared by Agamemnon (v. 160) to that ratified before among the gods, the "unmixed" must have been the same, or "sweet nectar." The opposite "akratos" is illustrated from Xenophon (Anab. IV., v. 27) as "strong and fiery"; the added ingredient (kerasma, Psalm lxxv. 8) is the "kukeōn," or concoction, prescribed by Hippocrates as an anæsthetic; and that, again, is explained by the "kukeō," called "pharmakon," a drug, to which Homer alludes (Odys. x. 316), and which he describes as mixed by Circe (Odys. x. 234–236); which contained "pea-green honey" (meli chloron) which Circe "stirred (ekuka) in Pramneian wine"; and to which it is added: "She mixed in meal (sitō) baneful drugs

(pharmaka lugra)." On the use of oil in the preparation of skins, whose preparation determined the quality of wine, two facts are to be noted: first, that grease and oil, as now used, render both pliant and water-tight the harness and shoes of laborers; and second, that the use of olive oil in ancient Egypt (see pp. 313, 326), among the Romans (p. 377), in the return to it by modern Italian vintners (p. 309), and in the chemical test made at the New York School of Mines (p. 345), compels the recognition of Origen's allusion to it. It is a direct statement that the wine Christ declared to be the emblem of the New Testament, or the Gospel Covenant, "the fruit of the vine" He appointed for the Supper, is the pure juice of the grape thus preserved in the land of Egypt where Origen wrote, and among the Romans who peopled Alexandria.

Origen concludes with an appeal significant in our day. Referring directly to the "priests" named (xiii. 14) and to the Levites who should return from the captivity (xxxiii. 22), having in view Jeremiah's extolling of the Rechabites (xxxv. 1–19) and his appeal to the king of Judah (xiii. 14 and xxxv. 1) through their example, appealing also to Jeremiah's statement as to the hope of Judah in her degeneracy (Lam. iv. 7), "her Nazarites were purer than snow, they

were whiter than milk," Origen exclaims that he, like the apostle Paul (1 Cor. x. 11), declares: "All these things happened unto them as types." He insists: "The prophet, the apostle, has written through us. If, therefore, there be any one among these priests (I mean the presbyters), if there be any of you Levites (I mean the deacons) who stand around the people, who has thus sinned, he shall receive the cup of punishment which the Lord threatens through the prophet." As a single other testimony to the general teaching of Origen, in accord with Clement, who preceded and other fathers who succeeded him, on Gen. ix. 20, he dwells upon the inexperience of Noah, indicated by the Greek term "ērxato," he "began" to be a husbandman; with a play of words he intimates that it was "earthy" (gēinos) wine that made Noah "naked" (gymnos); and he exclaims: "Such is the fruit of the tree of knowledge of good and evil." Here, as the annotators recognize, Origen draws the distinction between intoxicating, "earthy," and unintoxicating wine; he indicates that knowledge of the former is only "good," while knowledge of the latter is "evil"; and he regards Noah and Adam, the second and the first fathers of the human race, to have been subjected, alike, to the trial of forbidden fruit and forbidden products

of fruit, as contrasted with the appointed "fruit of the vine."

CYPRIAN, THE CARTHAGINIAN WITNESS, IN THE MIDDLE OF THE THIRD CENTURY.

The works of Cyprian take the student again to Carthage, A.D. 248 to 258, in the very age of Origen. In his preface (c. xiv.) Migne premises that in his allusions to wine Cyprian is meeting the objection of "total abstainers who used water for wine" (aqua pro vino) at the Lord's Supper; and he adds: (c. xv.) that Cyprian, like the fathers generally, regarded Melchisedek as having foreshadowed the wine of the Supper (Gen. xiv. 18). Cyprian's chief testimony is found in his 63d epistle; addressed: "To Cæcilus on the sacrament of the Lord's cup." He writes: "Nothing else should be done by us than what the Lord before has done for us; that the cup which is offered in commemoration of Him, be offered mixed with wine (mixtus vino). For, when Christ said: 'I am the true vine' (John xv. 1), the blood of Christ is not water merely (non aqua est utique), but wine." In a note Migne quotes the words of the decree of the Council at Carthage cited by Bingham (see p. 231), as follows: "Ut in sacramento corporis et sanguinis Domini nihil

amplius offeratur quam Dominus tradidit; hoc est panis et vinum aqua mixtum"; that "in the sacrament of the body and blood of the Lord nothing more should be offered than the Lord appointed; that is bread and wine mixed with water." Migne quotes several corroborative authorities; among which, after the mass took the place of the Lord's Supper, is the following: "Constitutio synodalis Didaci Escolani episcopi Majoricensis edita anno 1659." In this document the bishop states of the cup at the mass: "It is less becomingly (decenter) performed when red wine is consecrated; . . . . since thus the neatness (mundities) of the altar can scarcely be preserved. Therefore we exhort all presbyters of this diocese, that, after this, they use white (albo) wine in celebration of masses (missarum)." Migne adds: "Pope Innocent VIII., doubtless, had not read this passage of Cyprian when he permitted the sacrifice of the mass to be celebrated without wine in Norway"; the Pope citing as a natural reason, "quod ob immensa frigora vinum in ea regione importatum acescat"; "because on account of the excessive cold in that region wine imported grows sour." Several citations follow in Migne; all agreeing that both wine and water should be used at the Lord's Supper. Cyprian next cites at length the cases of Noah

and Melchisedek; as do his predecessors. On Solomon's counsel (Prov. ix. 1–5) he says: "id est, calicem Domini aqua et vino mixtum"; that is, that the cup of the Lord is mixed with water and wine; and as explanatory he adds, citing Gen. xlix. 11: "When the blood of the grape is mentioned what else (quid aliud) than the wine of the cup of the Lord's blood is set forth? The treading and pressure of the twist-press (torcularis) is called into requisition, because as it is impossible to have wine to drink unless the grape cluster (botrus) is beforehand trodden and crushed, some would not be able to drink the blood of Christ unless He had beforehand been trodden and crushed." Alluding to Christ's statement that He would drink "new wine" (novum vinum), he says it can be obtained even in desert regions. Migne here adds in a note, "Wine (vinum) is omitted in Matthew (xxvi. 29), as Jerome shows (Apud Varronem L. V. de Lat. Ling.)." Cyprian continues: "How can we drink of the product (creatura) of the vine, new wine, unless we offer wine?" thus indicating that he meets the objection of those using water by insisting that Christ appointed the fresh product of the vine at His Supper. Alluding, then, to Paul's corresponding view (1 Cor. xi. 23–26), and citing his statement (Gal. i. 6–9) that no Gospel appointment should be

changed, he exclaims: "I wonder that in certain localities water is offered in the cup of the Lord"; thus indicating the extent of this conscientious departure. Yet again, to indicate the kind of wine prepared by Providence to meet this demand, like his predecessors, he quotes David's cup (Psalm xxiii. 5) as unintoxicating; adding: "Calix autem qui inebriat utique vino mixtus est"; but the cup which inebriates surely is mixed with wine. Then, presenting the contrast between "ebrio" and "inebrio" (p. 150) when the two words are thus brought into opposition, he adds: "ebrietas Dominici calicis et sanguinis non est talis qualis est ebrietas vini saecularis"; "but the exhilaration of the cup and blood of the Lord is not such as the exhilaration of the worldly (saecularis) wine." That his use of "cup" for the former, and "wine" for the latter is designed is apparent; since the word "wine," as Jerome intimates, is not used by Christ, and since also Cyprian appeals to Psalm xx. 5, "we will rejoice in thy salvation," in which no mention is made of wine, as illustrative of his meaning; saying that "the blood of the Lord is a saving cup." He adds, moreover, that "the cup of the Lord is the best" (optimus), and refers to the wine Christ made at the wedding (John ii. 10) as illustrative; saying that Christ "made wine of water" to indi-

cate to the Jews that His Gospel was adapted to all nations; an idea touching the wine of the Supper that had, in Cyprian's mind, a broad application.

ZENO, THE ITALIAN WITNESS OF THE THIRD CENTURY.

The record of Zeno, next succeeding, A.D. 252 to 260, takes us to Verona, in Northern Italy, where he suffered martyrdom under Galienus. His works extant are short tracts; several of which, in his Second Book, relate to the administration of the Lord's Supper to young children. In B. II., Tract xxxii., Zeno uses the term "lactantes," or "milk-sucking," in representing the elements of the Lord's Supper administered to children; on which the editor cites Jerome's comment on Isa. lv. 1: "Hoc mos et typus in Occidentis ecclesiis hodie usque servatur; ut renatis in Christo vinum lacque tribuatur"; this custom and symbol is preserved in the churches of the West even to this day; that to those born again to Christ wine and milk is given. Again (Tract xxxviii.), Zeno invites "neophytes," after baptism, "to the feast (convivio) in which the sweetness of our secular must (musti) . . . . is not corrupted by fœtid exhalations of wine left from the day

before (vini pridiani); but to a celestial banquet, honorable (honesto), pure, healthful, and perpetual." On the word "musti" Migne says: "The term must (vox musti) signifies the same Eucharist which the same receive under the form of wine (sub vini specie)." He then cites Melchisedek, Abraham, Jacob, and Joseph, as using the same "must" in their rural life; and adds that the home fare of Jesus was the same; while John was fed upon "wild honey." Alluding, then, to the cup of the Supper, thus declared to have been sweet must, Zeno cites Psal. cxix. 103, and comments thus: "Our God and Lord, Jesus Christ the Son of God, as beforehand He had fed them on sweets (dulcia) in this banquet, says: 'How sweet (quam dulcia) are Thy words unto me'"; on which Migne cites the Vatican codex, and says the words of Zeno are rendered intelligible by the accordant fact that Christ "at the end of the feast brought out sweet confects" (sub convivii finem expungere dulcia); the reference being to John 14th to 16th chapters. The word "expungere" in medieval Latin is equivalent to "conficere," whence the English term "confects"; while these conspiring lights indicate that the cup of the Supper is, as in the words of Psal. cxix. 103, the "gleukeon," or the "gleukos" of Acts ii. 13. In his 53d tract, "de

Paschale," or of the Easter festival, Zeno states what Bingham cites without giving his authority (see p. 231). His words are: "panem novum cœperint manducare, quos amtumnale quoque non morabitur mustum; quo repleti, inebriatique, feliciter spiritus semetsui calore fervebant (Acts ii. 13)"; "they might begin to eat new bread, whom the autumnal must also will not delay; with which filled and exhilarated they are happily fervid with heat of very spirit." Zeno, it must be observed, is writing in the home of Cato and Columella, and where the unfermented wine described by them and by Pliny had been familiar for centuries. The season of Easter, like the Passover in Palestine, brought in the new fresh wheat; while the must put up the previous autumn has not been subjected to summer heat, and is, therefore, specially fresh. Zeno compares it and its exhilaration to the "gleukos" which the inspired at Pentecost were charged with having imbibed; a preparation of grape-juice now admitted even by objectors (see p. 341) to have been unintoxicating. The word "inebrio," therefore, like "methusko" (see pp. 122, 137, 149–151, etc.), means an exhilaration arising from spiritual as well as from physical causes. What is yet more important, Migne gives here the note above cited, "This is the Eucharist given under

the special form (specie) of bread to neophytes; as the word 'must' signifies the same Eucharist which they receive under the special form (specie) of wine." Such testimonies, conspiring and cumulative, coming from the entire circuit of the Mediterranean, forbid doubt that unintoxicating "fruit of the vine" was regarded in the early Church as Christ's appointment for His Supper.

ARNOBIUS, THE CARTHAGINIAN WITNESS, OPENING THE FOURTH CENTURY.

Returning to Carthage, in the treatise of Arnobius, a rhetorician, at first opposed, then won to the Christian faith, writing A.D. 300 to 305 "against the Gentiles," new testimonies are met. Appealing to the Roman degeneracy which Christianity alone could reform, he dwells (Contr. Gent. ii. 67) on luxury in diet, on the departure from simple oil and grape syrup, and on indulgence in intoxicating wine. He asks: "Matres familias vestrae . . . . potionibus abstinent vini?" Do our mothers of family abstain from potions of wine? He especially declares wine-drinking "aversionem ex religione priorum," a departure from the religious integrity of their predecessors. Again (iv. 16) referring to the religious rites (officia religiosa)

of Minerva, Apollo, and Diana, and to Plato in his Timæus as to Egyptian deities, Arnobius applies a term to the wines employed which has called forth exhaustive criticism. Arnobius says that it was the custom, "ex pateris aureis inferia vina defundi," that *inferia* wines be poured out from golden goblets. Again (vii. 30, 31), Arnobius exclaims: "For, what has God to do with wine? (Quid est enim Deo cum vino?)" Repeating the question, he adds: "What, I say, has God to do with wine, the thing next to venereal indulgence (venereis re proxima)?" Dwelling on this, Arnobius makes this appeal, expanding and repeating this phrase: "Mactus hoc vino inferio esto"! On the word "mactus," Virgil's celebrated line is cited (Æneid, ix. 641), "Macte nova virtute puer; sic itur ad astra." "Mactus" is equivalent to "magis auctus," and the line is rendered: "Advance, boy, to new virtue; so one mounts to the stars." The annotator cites the custom: "They cried out to the gods in the sacrifices, 'Macte hocce vino inferio esto.'" On the word "inferio" Cato and Varro are quoted; Varro applying it to "rain-water" as pure from any foreign ingredient; the word being derived from "infero," to bring in and serve something specially prepared and set apart; as Virgil uses it (Æneid, iii. 66). On the whole connection

Migne gives this note: "On *inferio*, Trebatius says that the word is added for this cause (ea causa) and is mentioned for this reason also (eaque ratione); that not any wine whatever (ne vinum omne omnino), which is stored in cellars and in lofts (in cellis atque apothecis), from which that which is poured is prepared at hand (promptum est), may at once become sacred (esse sacrum incipiat), and be hastily taken (eripiatur) from human uses. Add to this, therefore, that by this term that only will be sacred which might be specially brought in (inferetur); neither will another meet religious obligation (religione obligabitur)." The amount of research which editors have given to the elucidation of these statements of the early Christian fathers as to wines appropriate for the Lord's Supper, certainly justifies, in our age and land, the effort to reach their meaning.

EUSEBIUS, THE CHURCH HISTORIAN UNDER CONSTANTINE.

The testimony of Eusebius, born in Palestine, master of all the history of the Christian Church in all the early ages, writing, A.D. 315 to 340, to meet the demand when the first Christian Emperor made full instruction in Christian morals a demand throughout the Roman world, have

been sufficiently cited (pp. 204, 206, 207, 454). Their bearing and import receives new light and increased emphasis from the citations of editors on the works of the earlier fathers already referred to. No strength of statement can exaggerate, if it can do justice to, the importance attached by the historian, both of the Christian Church and of the Christian Emperor, in his view of the "Preparation for the Gospel," which old Roman virtue as to wines especially gave.

Somewhere in this age also appeared the Latin poetic harmony of the Gospels, incorporated by Migne with the works of the Latin fathers; which "Evangelica Historica," the work of Juvencus, affords accordant testimonies that "musts" were a variety of wines, and that they were preserved as "musts" in new "anointed" skins. The words of Christ, Mat. ix. 17, Mark ii. 22, Luke v. 37, 38, are thus versified:

> "Aut utribus calidum tritis committere mustum,
> Queis ruptis, totum sequitur disperdere vinum?
> Sed rudibus, rectum est, utribus spumantia musta";

i. e., "or do they commit warm must to worn-out skins, which being ruptured, it results that they lose all the wine? But it is wise to put foaming musts in raw skins." Annotators direct attention to three special terms here. "Uter,"

as its derivation and usage indicate, is distinct from "pellis"; the latter referring to skins cut and made into leather by tanning; the latter to skins stripped from the animal whole and prepared by thorough rubbing of the interior with oil, and used as bottles. The word "calidum" indicates that the "must" referred to was fresh from the vat; the writer regarding the "oinos neos" of Matthew, Mark, and Luke as *fresh* "must." The word "rudis," opposed to "tritus," contains a double idea; not only the strength from newness, but the air-tight nature of the skins being alluded to. This is set forth by Virgil (Geor. ii. 384); the country youth at their festivals, after emptying at their banquet the skins of preserved must, blowing up those same "unctos utres" which the oil had made air-tight, and using them as foot-balls. On the wine used by Christ, especially at the Lord's Supper (Evang. Hist., B. iv., l. 454), two notes are given. The meaning of "condere," whence the adjective "conditum" applied to "fruit of the vine," is thus explained: "*Condere;* sic vinum conservant fortia vasa"; *to seal up;* so strong flasks preserve wine. Again, attention is called to the fact that this early Latin historical poet styles the wine of the Supper "merum," corresponding to the "akraton" of the earlier Greek fathers; "merum" having the two mean-

ings heretofore observed as belonging to the generic term "wine" in all languages.

LACTANTIUS AND ATHANASIUS, UNDER CONSTANTINE.

A new field of testimony is opened by Lactantius, writing at Constantinople, under Constantine, A.D. 320 to 330, styled "the Christian Cicero"; the tutor of Crispus, the emperor's eldest son. Like Cicero an eclectic in philosophy, and a profound student of *natural* theology in its bearings on law and jurisprudence, in his "Divine Institutions" (B. vi., c. 1, De vero cultu), alluding to the fact that the profoundest Grecian philosophers, even Anaxagoras, taught "the worship of the heaven (coeli) and of the sun," while the Christian religion enjoined worship only of "the *Maker* of heaven and of the sun," he says: "But men who neglect judgment while stained (inquinati) with vices and crimes, if they only drenched the altar-fires (focus) with a profusion of fragrant and old wine (odoraticæ veteris vini) revel in luxurious debauch." As opposed to this he speaks of the Christian Supper as "a new oblation (novam oblationem)." In a note (in the appendix), "*novam*" is stated to be opposed to "veteris," applied to the wine still under Constantine offered to pagan deities; this "nova

oblatio" being "purum sacrificium," a pure sacrifice. The editor quotes passages above cited from Tertullian and Cyprian, and others to be alluded to from Chrysostom and Cyril, showing that unintoxicating wine was made and used by Christ.

The testimony of Athanasius, the great champion of the Divine nature of Christ under Constantine, framer of the creed, so much more explicit than the Nicene, which bears his name, teacher and writer at Alexandria, A.D. 335 to 373, sufficiently quoted, p. 209, gives a clearer light when set among kindred lights shining all around the Mediterranean at his day. Disputes as to creeds, as Paul and Peter at Antioch, Athanasius at Nice, Calvin and Servetus at Geneva, Polyander, Arminius, Grotius, and Socinus at Leyden—all earnest contenders for vital doctrines of the Christian faith—tend to extreme statements; when nevertheless the essential truth for which they contend involves the earthly and heavenly welfare of the human race. Like other great leaders at the crisis when Christianity became popular under Constantine and men who knew nothing of Christ's excellence pressed for worldly motives into the Christian Church, Athanasius contended strongly for the purity of Christ as to intoxicants; and that not as an ascetic, thinking to redeem

men by self-enforced abstinence, but to hold them by an inward Divine grace to the perfect law of temperance. In the interpreting of his words special regard must be had to editions relied on. That of Paris in 1726, that of Cologne in 1786, and especially that of Migne in 1857, indicate the guidance of French experts on the subject of wines. The allusions of Athanasius to "wines" in their relation to Christ as maker, as partaker, and as instituter of the Supper are varied but generally brief. In his Oration against the Gentiles, or his defence of Christian moral and religious doctrine against Grecian and Roman objections, Paul's epistle to the Romans, written at Corinth, is brought constantly to mind; since human nature had not essentially changed; while the lure to accept Christianity without its spirit was ensnaring. At chapter 24, as marked by Migne (Orat. Cont. Gent. 24), Athanasius writes: "The people of India worship Bacchus (Dionyson), symbollically calling him wine (oinon)." There follows this statement, differently interpreted: "kai touton tois allois spendousin heteroi"; properly rendered: "and this (wine) other (peoples) pour out as a drink-offering to other (deities)." Athanasius continues: "Other (nations) and especially the Egyptians, recognize water and fountains (krenas) as deities; indeed

as to all these (observances) the Egyptians have been especially prominent. And yet, these very Egyptians, who worship these (waters) wash off (aponiptontai) the impurities (rypous) of other things, and even their own, with the waters." The connection indicates that Athanasius has both Christ's ordinances, and especially a connection between the two as respects the purity of the elements employed, in his mind. In his treatise against the Arians (Contr. Arian. Cologne edit., Vol. II., p. 122), arguing that the Divine nature in Christ is indicated by the purity of the elements he appointed at the Supper, Athanasius represents that Christ "set forth his own most holy (panhagion) body, and wine exhilarating (euphrainonta) the heart (kardian, *Lat.* mentem) and producing freedom from intoxication (nēpsin) in the animal nature (psyche, *Lat.* animo) of each one; as if having mingled (kerasas) his own blood in the cup." The universal classic usage of "nēpsis" and its root nēphō" compels the rendering "freedom from intoxication"; this is the rendering of "nēpho" in 1st Thess. v. 8, as the connection indicates, which the Christian Fathers generally give; and a contradiction must be supposed if Athanasius has not in mind the custom of his age, seen everywhere, in using unintoxicating wine at the Supper. In his History of Melchisedek (Co-

logne edit., Vol. II., p. 9), Athanasius represents Melchisedek as giving to Abraham "poterion akraton," an unmixed cup; which the editor renders "vinum meracum," pure wine. Certainly Athanasius had a reason for inserting the qualifying term; and the usage of the Greek and Roman classic writers, as also of the Greek and Latin Fathers, is in accord as to the meaning of "akratos" and of "merum" and "meracus." In his questions on the Interpretation of Parables, Nos. 71 and 72, the interpretation of Gen. xlix. 10, 11 is like to that of the other Fathers. Of the "blood of grapes" Athanasius says: "This blood was indeed wine; since the Lord called also that mystic wine his blood. This, again, that his eyes are made glad (charopoioi) from wine, signifies the joy which followed his passion." It is noteworthy that the editor, assured from the connection that it is *not* excitement from an intoxicating element in the wine, renders this expression "pulchriores vino," more beautiful than wine. Certainly no man could have chosen language more definite than Athanasius.

HILARIUS AND EPIPHANIUS, IN THE CLOSE OF THE FOURTH CENTURY.

In the same generation, Hilarius, A.D. 350 to 356, at Pictavium, in Southern France, near the

former field of Irenæus, contrasts the wine of the Supper and wine used as a beverage, in statements accordant with those of the many fathers giving testimony as to wines in his age. In his Tract. lix., vs. 3–6, dwelling on the cup of wrath (Isa. li. 17) and the cup of Christ's blessing (Isa. lv. 1), he says: "In vino, etenim, secundum Apostolum (Eph. v. 18) lascivia est. Et sicut est vinum cor hominis laetificans, ita et vinum est hominis compungens"; "For, in wine, according to the Apostle, is lasciviousness. And as it is wine which makes joyful the heart of man, so it is wine which causes compunction to man." Hilary sees, as Solomon teaches, the natural association of the vices of wine-drinking and of licentiousness.

In the close of this century, A.D. 367 to 402, in the Isle of Cyprus, where Paul early preached and won the Roman deputy from the subtle corruption which Juvenal compared to "wine-lees" (faecis), debasing to women as well as men (Sat. iii. and vi.), while before Paul's visit Horace characterized its agents as "quack-medicine dealers" (pharmakopolae, Sat. I., ii. 1),—at this centre and in this age Epiphanius wrote against "heretics" or seceders. As stated in the former citation, Epiphanius seeks to meet the valid objection of those who were opposed to wine at the Supper because it might be intoxicating,

by showing that it was not intoxicating wine Christ prescribed. He quotes at length Psalm xxiii., from the Greek translation, whence they argued that David drank only water in the mountains of Judea, though it had among its valleys Eshcol and Sorec. He reviews their argument that wine caused Noah's fall, Lot's incest, and Israel's worship of the golden calf at Sinai, as well as the evils pictured by Solomon, Prov. xxiii. 29, 30. He says that Christ forbade "surfeiting" as well as "drunkenness," Luke xxi. 36, and insists that it was wine unobjectionable which Christ, as David in the desert, drank and appointed for the Supper. This argument of Epiphanius, when studied in the light of the Roman and Greek authorities, as well as of the Christian fathers who preceded him, is clear and convincing.

AMBROSE OF MILAN, IN THE CLOSE OF THE FOURTH CENTURY.

The great light of this age, from A.D. 370 to 397, Ambrose of Milan, Italy, who established a form of Sabbath service precisely like that of modern evangelical churches, and which prevails to this day in the church reared to his memory,—Ambrose is both full and explicit in his state-

ments as to unintoxicating wine. He dwells often (Hexam. iii. 17, de Virg. 8, Noah and the Ark) on the fact that the Creator provided only the fresh fruits for man; that Noah was allowed "to invent wine," as Solomon intimates (Eccl. vii. 29), as a "test" of his integrity; and that his inexperience, intimated in the expression, he "began" to be a husbandman, led to his fall. As illustrative of approved wine, he alludes to (Noah c. 29) the "tirosh" (see p. 417) blessed by Isaac; and he cites David's shepherd's cup and his "table" among the hills of Judea (Psal. xxiii. 1, 5). In his Epistles (lxiii. c. 19) he cites Eph. v. 18 as giving the Christian law as to wines, and teaching abstinence from intoxicating wine; and he explains his teaching by this historic fact: "Even Epicurus, the defender of indulgence, himself used grape-juice only (succo solo) or water, with bread." He quotes (c. 27) 1 Tim. v. 23, as implying that wine as a beverage is disapproved by Paul; since Timothy abstained from it entirely, and is only advised to take "a little," and as "a medicine." Alluding again to Noah's fall and its lesson (c. 28), he urges that the constrained abstinence of Israel in the desert, and the divinely appointed abstinence of Elijah, of Daniel, and of John, was the secret of their superior wisdom, integrity, and usefulness. On

the sacraments (iv. 19), he characterizes "the fruit of the vine," appointed by the Lord at His Supper, as "wine and water in the cup" (vinum et aqua in calicem). He dwells on the cup of Melchisedek, the type of Christ, as prefiguring the Supper (Gen. xiv. 18); and asks: "What (quid) was put into the cup? Wine. And what else (aliud)? Water. . . . . But you ask, 'In what manner (quo modo) did Melchisedek offer bread and wine? What meant the admixture of water?'" Presenting again (v. 1), under the figure of Moses striking the rock, the idea common to the fathers that the "blood and water" that flowed from Jesus' heart were, the one atoning, the other cleansing (1 John i. 7 and v. 6, and Rev. i. 5, v. 9, and vii. 14), he adds: "Therefore the priest touches it (tangit), the water overflows (redundat) in the cup"; and he cites again David's cup (Psal. xxiii. 5), as illustrative. The custom still preserved in the Oriental churches (see p. 233) of simply touching the bread to the diluted wine is here manifestly alluded to, as it relates to the Lord's Supper, while the *beverage* commended is the cup overflowing with water.

BASIL OF ASIA, CHRYSOSTOM OF CONSTANTINOPLE, AND CYRIL OF JERUSALEM, CLOSING THE FOURTH CENTURY.

Basil, in Asia Minor, during the same age, A.D. 370 to 379, bears like testimony. His declaration that Christian ministers, like Grecian and Roman rulers, should abstain from intoxicating wine, cited pp. 211 and 231, stand out more in relief amid such an array of accordant teachings. He is also associated with those who make clear the nature of the wine appointed by Christ for His Supper.

Chrysostom, the "golden-mouthed," who, A.D. 381 to 407, at Constantinople, thrilled the imperial court with his earnest Gospel-preaching, follows Lactantius at Constantine's chosen centre, where the Eastern and Western churches might meet. In several of his Homilies (as xxvii. 13), Chrysostom refers to the Roman virtue as to abstinence from intoxicating wines; using expressions like this: "How disgusting is woman reeking with wine," showing by the connection that he would, by citing woman, impress his own and every thoughtful man's conviction as to any one, man or woman, whose breath betrays the sensual appetite which wine-fumes bespeak. Alluding to the cup Christ appointed

for the Supper, it must be carefully observed, his effort is to show that it was not subject to this objection. In his 82d Homily or Expository discourse on Matthew's Gospel (on Matt. xxvi. 29), he dwells upon the special terms used by Christ; and alluding to Paul's inspired statement to the most cultured of Greeks (1 Cor. xi. 26), that this pure emblem was to "show forth the Lord's death till He comes," employing his usual and frequent mode of references to the group of strangely banded errorists of his day, he says: "Knowing that those about (hoi peri) Marcion and Valentine and Manes were to sprout up (phuesthai) denying the appointment (arnoumenoi tēn oikonomian), Christ said: 'I will drink no more of the fruit of this vine (ek tou gennēmatos tēs ampelou tautēs')." Dwelling upon and repeating, he concludes his argument opposing the extended use of water only, by the remark: "Of the fruit, he says, of the vine. Now the vine produces wine, not water (oinon, ouch hydōr)." Here three points are to be observed: *First*, the three men named, starting from three opposite principles, each professing a specially pure morality, all ended alike, as modern mystics do, in unbridled sensuality. Manes, adopting the Persian idea that the good and evil principle in nature are in balanced conflict, became a gross materialist, with

all the resulting tendencies. Valentine, beginning with the Egyptian idea of an ethereal, unfleshly nature in Christ, alluded to by John as already rife in his day (1 John iv. 3), developed a tendency which, as Irenæus states, made his followers to become abandoned in vice and crime. Marcion, as Epiphanius states, after early profession of the Christian faith, was excluded from the church of which his father was pastor, for youthful seduction. When, now, "those about" this trio, their followers two centuries after the death of their leaders, were agreed like the Herodians and Imperialists, the Sadducees and Pharisees, in seeking to defame the purity, and then to destroy the reign of the spotless Son of God, no wonder that Chrysostom, like the Gospel heralds in modern times (see p. 8), was roused to defend Him who was, indeed, made "in all points" like His brethren, and yet was "holy, harmless, undefiled, and *separate* from sinners"; as Stuart, the memorable leader, in directing scholarship to the study of Bible wines comments on the word: "*Separate, i. e.*, removed from all that could contaminate or render impure." Second, Chrysostom, by the inserted word "of *this* wine," shows that he regards Christ as referring to Himself as the spiritual vine (John xv. 1), and that he defends the "fruit of the vine" as an

article pure in nature like the being whose blood it symbolized. Third, by the expression, "The vine produces wine, not water," he by no means hints, in opposition to all his arguments, that the vine produces that intoxicating beverage which no creature of God, save depraved man, will drink, much less designedly "invent," as Solomon and Pliny agree (see p. 144).

The voice next heard, from Jerusalem, that of Cyril, A.D. 381 to 386, needs no restatement, since the two main points urged have been recognized by scholars of differing view since the statement of Cyril's view (p. 212) appeared. Geikie, in his life of Christ, makes the very statement of Cyril as to the wine made by Christ for the wedding (John ii. 9): "Wine is water in vines." The "gleukos" claimed even by Alford as intoxicating, is now by Horace Bumstead admitted, as Cyril stated, to have been unintoxicating. Yet more: the wondrous advance of scientific criticism as well as of popular sentiment, the triumph of Christ's truth as well as of His grace, witnessed within the last ten years in every Christian Church and nation, makes the voice of Cyril, heard from the very city where Jesus taught by word and example as to the wine He approved, to have new emphasis.

JEROME, THE COMPREHENSIVE BIBLE SCHOLAR, OPENING THE FIFTH CENTURY.

Coming to Jerome, a Roman but not a Romanist, living thirty years of his studious life, from A.D. 372 to 420, at the birthplace of David and of David's greater son, that he might learn and embody for all ages faithful comments on every part of that book which from beginning to end is "The Testimony of Jesus" (Rev. xix. 10), little need be added to the full statement given, pp. 213 to 217. The use of Jerome by Mohammed, who so distinctly describes the law of unfermented wines (see pp. 218, 219, 427, 428), is illustrated by the citations made from Jerome, just traced, by editors of the writings of the earlier fathers. Reviewing the statements in Jerome's commentaries, their number and clearness receives added light from the survey just made.

Jerome's comment on Psalm civ. 15, reveals a double truth as to wine: that it is, as observed, p. 105, "unhealthful" when intoxicating, while that appointed for the Lord's Supper is "healthful." Jerome represents Christ as here "proffering the mystery (mysterium) of the heavenly bread and of the healthful (salutaris) cup, by which the church is refreshed"; the word "salu-

taris" uniting the literal meaning of "healthful" with the spiritual signification of "saving." Jerome's commentators refer to his statements on Psalm xxiii. 5 and xxxvi. 8 as illustrating his meaning. His rendering of the former passage (Psal. xxiii. 5) is: "Et calix meus inebrians quam praeclarus est!"—"and my inebriating cup, how exceeding clear it is!" Here the word inebriating, as in the Syriac version, is *not* meant to indicate that the cup was intoxicating, but the reverse, for the transparent clearness of the wine here emphasized (see pp. 345, 355) reveals Jerome's as well as David's design in the words chosen. Hence Jerome adds: "*Cup*, that is the word of God; *inebriating*, because through preaching, a man is pierced (compungitur) in mind, when it divides (separat) the man"; the allusion being to Heb. iv. 12. Jerome adds: "Then it inebriates him when it does these things. . . . . Thou inebriatest me by the mystic cup so that I give up to oblivion all the delights of former life." Nothing but the spirit which Peter condemned at the Pentecost could pervert here either David's or Jerome's meaning. In like manner, on the latter passage (Psal. xxxvi. 8), Jerome writes: "The sons of Christ are inebriated (inebriantur) by the oily fatness (pinguetudine) of the grace of the Holy Spirit." He adds: "Vel, inebriantur, ut, oblitis

flagittiis, virtutibus copulentur"; or, "they are inebriated, so that, their vices wrapped as in oil-cloth, they may be girded with virtues." These graphic and sustained figures of Jerome, like those of Columella, seem by forecaste to forestal the perversions already growing in the Roman Church when Jerome wrote. This very term "inebriate" meets the testimonies of modern chemical and philological science in support of the spotless purity of Christ's character and of His requirements. In farther elucidation of his meaning, in the word "inebriate" Jerome alludes to the "water-fountain" in the following verse; any material cause of exhilaration being emphatically denied by the figures used.

The statement of Jerome on Isa. lv. 1, alluded to by Migne on Clement, and partially quoted on Zeno, is thus introduced. Citing the "fruit of the vine" used by Christ at the Supper as prefigured by Isaiah, Jerome says: "quod vinum miscuit et sapientia in cratere suo," which wine, also, wisdom mixes in her cup; the word "mixes" being suggestive. Jerome adds: "So that we may buy (emamus) not wine only but also milk (lac), which signifies the innocence of little children"; when follows the statement of Jerome as to the "custom and symbol" cited by Migne. Following his definition of "tirosh," Hos. ii. 9, Jerome has a like comment upon the

"grapes" mentioned Hosea ix. 11, stating that Israel, entering Canaan, planted vines as Noah, "but they drank the wine which He (Christ) promised that He would drink new with His apostles in the kingdom of the Father"; and Jerome adds: "This is the vine of Sorec, whose wine we daily drink in mysteries." There can be no question that it was the rich, pure saccharine juice of the specially ripened grape, already illustrated as that of Sorec, which was used in the days of Jerome as that appointed by Christ. On Amos ix. 14, 15, Jerome uses again the same language as on Hos. ix. 11; he declares that the wine Israel will drink on their return from captivity will be the same fresh "fruit of the vine" which Christ promises to drink "new" with his disciples, and compares this to "red must." On Hab. ii. 5, Jerome says: "As wine deceives him drinking it, so will be the proud man." Uniting all Jerome's comments with the previous lights thrown upon his statements, the impartial seeker for truth as to Bible wines can not be misled.

In his Epistles, in addition to statements cited from the 22d, others give important testimony. In his 46th Epistle Jerome cites, as do earlier fathers, the fact that Melchisedek in type (typo) of Christ presented pure wine to Abraham; saying: "he dedicated (dedecavit) the Christian

mystery in the blood and body of Christ." In his 52d Epistle he says: "The apostle condemns wine-drinking (vinolentos) priests; as the ancient law commanded that they who served at the altar (Lev. x.) should drink neither wine nor strong drink"; he comments at length on various kinds of Roman and barbarian intoxicating liquors as included under these two classes of forbidden beverages; and indicates that Christ and Timothy were examples of this law. Again in his 100th Epistle he cites Judg. xiii. 7, 14 as God's law, and Amos. ii. 11, 12 as the sin of Israel in corrupting the youth who would keep that Divine law; and then cites Daniel as blest in keeping it. Yet again (adv. Jovin. i. 18), he speaks of "wine consecrated (dedicatum), after the flood," implying that only the kind that was suitable for consecration should be drunk; and he quotes Rom. xiv. 21, as the Apostle's rule for Christians.

AUGUSTINE, THE MASTER-THEOLOGIAN, EARLY IN THE FIFTH CENTURY.

Next after Jerome, writing from Carthage and often exchanging letters with his fellow-scholar, Augustine, from A.D. 387 to 430, gives the final and most important testimony as to wines used by Christians in his day. Like

Clement, Augustine must be read with the comments of experts; and while German and English editions are often of value, the comments of Migne, familiar with Roman and French specialist authorities on wines, are most valuable. Citing Rom. xiv. 1–3, Augustine says: "Of the first fruits of wine (de primitiis vini) the Gentiles poured libations to their images (simulacris); and some of them made sacrifices on the very wine-presses (in ipsis torcularibus)." These statements show at the outset Augustine's recognition of Numa's law (see pp. 143, 388), as the "jus gentium," or "common law," cited from Cicero to Justinian by Roman jurists. Applying this principle of "the first fruits of wine" to the law of Christ, Augustine says, in arguing against the Manichæans, or disciples of Manes (Haer. 46): "They will not drink wine; saying that its fell poison (fel) is the principle of darkness (principium tenebrarum); while, however, they eat grapes. Neither do they drink any must, even the freshest (recentissimi)." These statements indicate three facts: *first*, that total abstinence, extending to this extreme, maintained its sway over conscientious Christians, as well as errorists, through all the early Christian ages; *second*, that because of the "poison" in fermented wines, fresh "must" was prepared and used as a beverage; *third*,

that Augustine could defend Christ's appointment as to wines at the Supper only on the early Roman law of using "the first fruits of the vine." Against Faustinus, a Manichæan, Augustine uses language which has misled critics, who, from unacquaintance with Roman wines, can not reconcile his apparently contradictory statements; which, however, are seen to be perfectly in harmony when the Roman distinction between fermented and intoxicating wines, and wines unfermented and unintoxicating, has been made familiar. On Gen. xlix. 10, 11 (contra Faust. xii. 42), Augustine makes the "vine" to represent God's people; they are His because they have repented (Matt. iii. 2); this upper garment (stola) is the robe, or character of His people, whom He purifies from spot as by dyes, Eph. v. 27 and Isa. i. 18; to which Augustine adds the statement oft misconstrued: "He himself is the cluster (botrus) which hung on the wood (ligno), Num. xiii. 23, 24. Moreover, see what he adds: he washed his undergarment (amictum) in the blood of the grape (sanguine uvae); his eyes glisten (fulgere) from wine; and his teeth are white with milk." On the former clause he makes this comment: "to whom it is given, (sancta quaedam ebrietate alienatæ mentis ab infra labentibus temporalibus æternum lucem

sapienti contueri) by a certain sacred inebriation of a mind turned away from things below, failing, temporal, to gaze upon light eternal for the wise." Nothing but modern materializing of the spiritual truth of the Old Testament, seen so clearly by early Christians, could prompt the suggestion that there is recognized here by Augustine a corporeal intoxication from "the blood of the grape"; universally recognized by early commentators, brought together by Poole, to be the fresh juice of the grape. To make more manifest his meaning, Augustine quotes 2 Cor. v. 12, 13; stating that Paul declares he was really "sober," not unduly excited.

Again, he urges (xvi. 31), that, though John was an abstainer, yet Christ drank wine, otherwise He would not have been called a "wine-bibber" (vinarius). Again (xx. 13), replying to the charge that Christians may be supposed to worship Ceres and Bacchus (Cererem et Liberum), because they used bread and wine at the Lord's Supper, he argues that the charge would be as valid, that the Jews worship Saturn because their Sabbath comes on Saturday (diem Saturni). Meeting then the charge that "to taste wine is sacrilege, not religion," he says: "In the grape (uva) they acknowledge (agnoscunt) their God; in the cup (cupa) they are unwilling to; as if, somehow, trodden and

corked (calcatus et inclusus), he stumbled them." In these words there is a manifest allusion to the mode of preparing must (see pp. 377–78), and to prophecies of Christ (as Isa. lxiii. 3, and Lam. i. 15). He continues: "But our bread and cup, not of any kind whatever (non quilibet), as if bound after the manner of Christ with thorns and withes (in spicis et in sarmentis) as they weakly allege (desipiunt), but by a certain consecration is made a sacred rite (mystica) to us." Here the figure of Christ's blood flowing from the pricking of the thorns and the agony of His soul is compared to the blood of the grape, strained out by the twist press. Yet more, the phrase, "not wine of any kind," and the use of the word "mystica," as commentators indicate, shows that Augustine has in mind the "mystica vitis" of Tibullus, the "mysticum vinum" of Pliny, and especially its use by Virgil in his Georgics; in which (as i. 344, etc.), the rustic beverage and common offering of "milk, honey, and must," is alluded to. Again (contr. Petil. ii. 47), denying the calumny that the wine used at the Lord's Supper is inebriating (inebrians), he exclaims, after quoting entire Psalm 23d, "Memento ergo Sacramentis Dei nihil obesse mores malorum hominum"; remember, therefore, that to the Sacraments of God the customs of evil

men are in nothing prejudicial. Again (contr. Jul. ii.) he declares that the cup at the Lord's table is "what a little child may drink, (quem bibat parvulus)." The natural inference as to the character of this wine "which a little child may drink," is confirmed by an argument of Augustine against the Pelagians (contr. Jul. Pelag. i.), who denied that little children have a sinful nature needing the Atonement, of which the Lord's Supper is the symbol. Meeting this objection, Augustine cites "The opinion" (sententiam) of Innocentius styled "Papa," or Pope, by Augustine, that "little children should partake of the flesh and blood of the Son of Man." Augustine then exclaims: "If thou wilt not hear Innocent the blest (beatum), wilt thou not hear Christ?" an allusion which implies a recognition, that "the fruit of the vine" used by Christ, which "a little child" might partake, was the simple grape-juice fed to children according to Virgil's frequent pictures.

Augustine's comments on Psalms xxiii. 5, xxxvi. 8, civ. 15, and cxvi. 13, which have specially misled commentators unacquainted with facts as to ancient and modern wines, at once exalt the influence of Divine Spiritual regeneration, and confirm the testimony of the succession of Christian Fathers that unintoxicating wine was used in the early Church at the

Lord's Supper. Augustine's rendering at Psalm xxiii. 5 is: "poculum tuum inebrians, quam praeclarum est": thy inebriating goblet how exceeding clear it is! The term "inebriating" is here used by Augustine, as by Jerome, as a denial by contrast of the *physical* influence of the cup; for he adds, "oblivionem praestans priorum vanarum delectationum": causing the forgetting of former vain delights; a fact seen in men like Gough, who overcome the taste for intoxicants; which result, as all reformed inebriates state, is only accomplished by abstinence at the Lord's Supper from intoxicating wines. The term "poculum," contrasted by Augustine and Jerome with "calix," indicates Augustine's recognition of *social* drinking, as distinct from the *religious* partaking of the cup. On Psalm xxxvi. 8 Augustine's rendering is: "inebriantur ab ubertate domus tuae"; they are inebriated by the abundance of thy house. To show his meaning given to the term "inebrio," he exclaims: "We know not how much is here promised"; and cites 1 Cor. xiii. 12 as illustrative. He proceeds: "Here is an enigma! As men having drunk wine immoderately lose their mind, so, because that unspeakable joy has been received, the human mind as it were perishes, and is made Divine. Whence also in another Psalm we read 'thy inebriating cup.' With

this cup the martyrs were inebriated; and so were unconscious of their sufferings." He further alludes, as illustrative, to Psalm cxvi. 13; and makes the term "inebrians," which is really the commentator's insertion, to be explained by the term "salutaris," healthful or saving. On Psalm civ. 15 Augustine is yet more explicit, and is fuller than Jerome. He says: "Nemo se ad ebrietatem paret. Imo se omnis homo ad ebrietatem paret?" The term "pareo," indicating obedience to a command, requires the rendering: "No one is required to subject himself to inebriation." He adds, since the Manichæan, asserting the contrary, is to be met: "Indeed is *every* man required to subject himself to inebriation?" To make clear his meaning, Augustine again alludes to Psalm xxiii. 5; where, as Poole indicates, the Syriac version read by Jerome and the Ethiopic by Augustine, followed by the Arabic, have the inserted term "inebriating"; and, comparing these various allusions in the Psalms quoted, he explains "inebrians" by "exuberans." He adds: "We are inebriated; but, behold, whence? If the exceeding clear (praeclarus) cup of the Lord inebriates, that inebriation will be seen in good works; it will be seen in your sacred love of justice. It will be seen, indeed, really, in the *alienation* (alienatione) of your mind; but from earthly things

to heaven." In these words of David, thus interpreted by Jerome, Augustine, and all the evangelical among the early Christians, nothing but the ruling of materialistic rationalism, so pervasive in German interpreters, against which Stuart on this very subject, as on others, warned American Bible students—nothing but the modern prevalence of a habit condemned by Luther and of the absence of the spirit which animated that reformer, could have led to the misinterpretation of the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures and of the interpreters that lived amid their experiences. That habit Bismarck has observed as the source of Germany's political danger.

In his sermons Augustine is more explicit. In his 4th sermon he alludes to the "tirosh" blessed by Isaac as akin to the fresh products, "a tritico et vino," from fresh wheat and wine, used at the Passover and by Christ. In his 9th sermon, after a like allusion, he asks: "Dost thou know (nosti) . . . . *what* (quid) thou mayest eat (manduces), what thou mayest drink? indeed, *whom* (quem) thou eatest and whom thou drinkest?" In his 153d sermon, on "Lusting," of the wine-bibber, who boasts how much he can drink, Augustine says: "So much the more debased is he as he is unconquered by the cup." In his 207th sermon, he states: "You may see some, in place of the common wine,

seek out uncommon liquors; and by the expressed juice of other fruit to compensate for what they deny to themselves from the vine by what is most pleasing to the palate"; thus indicating the variety which permitted choice of beverages. In his 210th sermon, he says: "There are, also, those who do not drink wine"; but drink "the expressed juice of other fruit, ... not for the sake of health, but for indulgence"; thus indicating how plain was the pulpit teaching of Augustine's day on wine-drinking. He adds: "It is more becoming (honestius) . . . . that the common and moderately-used wine" be employed. In his 227th sermon, presenting again the bread and wine to be used for the Supper, he indicates that it is "fresh wheat and water in the vine"; and referring to the same again, in his 229th, he uses the pleasing simile, that as the fresh bread is made of many kernels of wheat and the wine of many grapes mingled into one, so the communicants come to partake of one spiritual nature. There the allusion seems to be to the still continued custom on the African coast, of grinding wheat fresh for the bread of each meal. Finally, in his 372d sermon, Augustine says: "The multitude of nations received in the Lord's table (mensa dominica) not cheap banquets and ignoble drinks (ignobiles potus), but those of the

shepherd himself (ipsius pastoris)"; both David and Christ coming before the mind of Augustine, as before earlier fathers, in this statement.

As the text of the Council of Carthage, at which Augustine was present, is quoted by Migne as a comment on Cyprian, so in the supplement of his, as of the Venetian edition of 1729, is found this among a list of "Ecclesiastical Dogmas" illustrative of Augustine's works: "In Eucharistia non debet pura aqua offeri . . . sed vinum cum aqua"; in the eucharist simple water ought not to be offered, ... but wine with water. For this canon two reasons are given: first, because Christ used the words "fruit of the vine" (gemine vitis), and because it is the custom "after supper" (post coenam) "that wine mixed with water be served"; second, because the "blood and water" which flowed from Christ's heart symbolized the elements appointed in the cup.

THEODORET, THE GREEK WITNESS, IN THE FIFTH CENTURY.

Theodoret, bishop at Cyrus, in the island of Eubœa, on the coast of Attica, from A.D. 420 to 457, adds testimony specially interesting, since he wrote in the land where the language of the New Testament was the people's tongue; and,

also, since he is one of the clearest and most Scriptural of the Greek Fathers. On the pregnant statement, Gen. xlix. 10–12, Theodoret recognizes, as all the early Christians, that "the vine" represents the people of God at large; citing as illustrative, Deut. xxxii. 32, Psal. lxxix. 8, Isa. v. 1, Jerem. ii. 21. He quotes Gal. iii. 27, to indicate that the toga and tunic are the righteousness of those who "put on Christ." He adds: "Then also the patriarch predicted the suffering (pathos) of Christ; his body is called the robe (stolē), and his blood is styled wine. . . . . We hear John the evangelist say: 'there came forth blood and water'; therefore he washed his garment in the blood of the grape." This allusion shows that Theodoret has in mind the "wine mixed with water," as also the fresh "must" declared by the earlier fathers to have been used at the Supper. On Lev. x. 9, Theodoret says that as Moses commanded the priests to abstain from wine, so "the apostle teaches" (1 Tim. iii. 2, 11; Tit. ii. 2), that the bishop must be "nephalios," free from wine; Theodoret's statement confirming the fact that this term is used by Paul in the same sense as in the writings of the Greek poets (Æsch. Eumen., 107; Soph. Oed. Col., 481), also in Plutarch (ii. 132), familiar to the scholarly Greek bishop. On 1 Tim. v. 23 he urges that in con-

sistency with Paul's previous injunction (1 Tim. iii. 2) it was "only a little," and that the *medicinal* wine Paul commended. Theodoret adds: "It is becoming (prosēkei) that the priest be perfect (teleion)." On the phrase "straight in heart" (euthesi) (Psal. lxxiii. 1), he represents the churches as "lenous," or wine-vats; for "unto them the spiritual vineyard (ampelōn) brings forth its domestic (oikeion) fruit," plainly referring to the fresh unfermented wine as that which, in itself and in its spiritual likeness, befits the Christian Church. This is made clear by Theodoret's manifest allusion to the use of "euthus" in the Old and New Testaments, as in 2 Pet. ii. 15, where the allusion is to the effect of intoxicating wine at heathen feasts, to which both Peter and Paul refer. Peter refers directly to Num. xxv. 2; as his mention of the luxury and lust of Sodom (v. 716), of "riot" at "feasts" (v. 13) indicate; akin to Paul's mention of the "cup of demons" (1 Cor. x. 21); inebriation causing a crooked as opposed to a straight path, as indicated by Moses (Deut. xxxii. 5, 14, 33), and also by Paul (Heb. xii. 13, 16, and xiii. 9). In his epistle to Cyrus (Epist. xiii.), Theodoret writes: "I have heard of the Isle of Lesbos and its wine"; and he expresses his desire that he partake only of that which promotes "health" (hygeian), and makes men

"long-lived" (polychronious). This reference of Theodoret to the Lesbian wine accords with Horace's allusion (p. 399) as "innocens"; his allusions here, as elsewhere, indicating the existence in his day of unintoxicating wines.

RECENT CRITICISMS ON HEBREW INTERPRETATION.

The interests of truth, touching the integrity of the inspired Scriptures, the purity of their Author, man's divine Redeemer, the safety of thousands now entering the Christian Church, and the rescue of a generation enticed to the drinking of light beer and wine by the interpretations of Bible scholars ignorant of the "divine law as to wines," compels a statement which would otherwise have been withheld. When, seven years ago, an able writer in the *Examiner*, guided as was afterward stated by one of the most eminent Hebrew scholars, denied the statement that any Hebrew lexicographer gave to "tirosh" the meaning "unfermented wine," it was becoming in the writer simply to refer to Fuerst. The fact is of special importance that all the trusted Hebrew lexicographers are German; that as Robinson's list of authorities indicates, all the eminent explorers in Bible lands up to the time he wrote had been naturally from

the seaboard and commercial countries of Europe, not from inland Germany; that hence, as Cuvier, Guizot, Hamilton, Stuart, Robinson, Agassiz, McCosh, and a long line of French, English, and American scholars in varied departments have noted, the German mind is specially speculative; that hence the progress of practical science, in Biblical criticism especially, has effected greater changes of view in German than in other scholars; and hence, that no one knows what is the last result of German Biblical criticism unless he has read the last author. Fuerst, therefore, was, in *many* points, a *new* authority as compared with Gesenius; men like Hengstenberg, Lepsius, and Bunsen having opened a new field of facts as to the products of Egypt and Palestine. The ablest, most truly esteemed, and most conscientious of Hebrew scholars may be, and has been, unacquainted with facts; and hence those earlier criticisms.

Since the appearance of the volume another equally able, justly esteemed, and eminently conscientious Hebrew scholar was led to prepare a long list of verbal, textual criticisms on the "Divine Law as to Wines." The statement on p. 52 as to the Sanscrit terms incorporated into or cognate to the Hebrew of Moses and of later Hebrew writers, it is stated, should not be

made "without authority." It is a sufficient reply, that the writer, having been one of the originators of the American Philological Association, read among other papers, at New Haven, to a specially large assembly, an elaborate treatise, citing from Gesenius the words indicated, and tracing from ancient and modern authorities the facts as to commercial and literary intercourse which made the Hebrew so comprehensive a language; and that Prof. Hadley, though privately suggesting that Gesenius, as on the word "nathan," had pushed the resemblance too far, greatly commended the study. The studies, approved by Dr. Meyrowitz, presented on pp. 408 to 413, are but an expansion of the fact early presented. The derivation, though not, as before, the meaning of "tirosh," on p. 72, is questioned; but the testimony of Dr. Meyrowitz, on p. 416, is ample. The view of Gen. xlix. 11, on p. 49, is controverted by an allusion to Augustine (contr. Faust. xii. 42); but the real view of Augustine, herewith presented, meets the objection. The poetic allusion of Moses, Deut. xxxii. 32, it is thought indicates a difference in the "grapes" rather than the wines. But it is to be remembered that Moses has before his mind, never himself entering Palestine, his experience in Egypt, and in his history in Genesis, the fall of Noah, the invention of

"tirosh" in Isaac's day, its mode of preparation in Egypt; but, yet more, the incest of Noah, brought about by "the wine" of Sodom (Gen. xix. 33), near whose site he is writing. The critic's error is as natural as that of Dr. Moore regarding a statement of Pliny (see pp. 337 and 384). Origen, as has been observed, regards Moses as here referring to "two kinds of wines." The statement on p. 68, that the "vinegar," true to its name, "sour wine," referred to by Moses and other Hebrew writers, was made from the product of the grape, is questioned, since in Num. vi. 3 vinegar of "strong drink" is named. The reply is in the passage and on the next page, for in Num. vi. 3 Moses has in mind only the products of the grape; and hence Jerome (p. 69) explains "chomets shekar" by "acetum ex vino." Objection is made to the derivation of "chemer" (p. 65), since one or two passages indicate that it is sometimes a "strong wine." This fact does not at all conflict with the statement made; for as shown, p. 414, "chemer" came to be the generic Semitic word for wines, covering all kinds, including light as well as strong wines; while, as Rev. Mr. Smith even (p. 436) recognizes, "sherbets" are unintoxicating wines. The nature of "'asis," with reference made to p. 86, is controverted, Isa. xlix. 26 being cited. The statement on p.

94 apparently, certainly the statements on pp. 414–15–38–51, had not been weighed by the critic. A similar doubt as to the nature of "sobē," p. 66, is expressed; but the Supplement, with the discussion of Roman writers, and its statements on pp. 414–15–38, had not met the critic's eye. The interpretation given to "tirosh," p. 148, is declared to be an effort to "set aside the *prima facie* testimony of the Greek translation." But that *supposed* "prima facie" testimony is itself set aside by the nature of "tirosh" as defined by Fuerst; while also that *supposed* "prima facie" testimony in the Greek "methusma" is the vital point in a discussion that belongs to Greek exegesis. The interpretation given on p. 105 to Psal. civ. 15 is declared to be "untenable." The early Christian fathers, especially Jerome and Augustine, could not have been read when this conclusion was reached. Finally it is stated that the passages cited on p. 86, indicating the luxury that would follow the election of a king, do not *mention* the evils of wine-drinking. The statement reveals the distinction between the habit of a verbal critic and of a historic collater; which has its illustration in comments on writers like Aristotle and Paul, repeated in our own as in many a past age.

RECENT CRITICISMS ON GREEK AND ROMAN INTERPRETATIONS.

In a criticism upon p. 47, the writer above cited asks whether "Moses makes the distinction between *gleukos* and *oinos glukus*." Certainly Moses makes the distinction between "tirosh" and "yayin" with its many varieties; and their mode of manufacture he had seen delineated on the walls of tombs whose sculptures and paintings were executed three centuries before his birth in Egypt. It is, of course, the Greek translators of the Old Testament to whom the critic refers. A reference to Trommius' Concordance of the Septuagint (edit. Amsterdam, 1718), indicates that the adjective "glukus," applied to wine, is used ten times by the Old Testament translators; its use as applied to honey, Judg. xiv. 14, indicating the relation of honey to the strained juice of the grape embodied in the ancient Hebrew "debsh" and the modern Arabic "dibs" (pp. 42, 65, 109). The Septuagint also has the word "gleukos" as a noun, in the phrase, "askos gleukous" (Job xxxii. 19), translated by the editor, "uter musti," a skin bottle of must. For the full discussion of this distinction, the reader is referred to the chain of authorities cited under the two words, "glukus" and "gleukos," in the Index to "Di-

vine Law as to Wines." The distinctive meanings of "methe, methuo, methusko," and its bearing on the term "methusma," used by the Greek translators for "tirosh," has been questioned. The reader is referred again to the Index; for *truth* is consistent; the meaning of "tirosh" is unquestioned, as also the fact that the translators of the Septuagint version understood both the Hebrew and Greek terms thus brought into comparison; and while verbal criticism may suggest indecision because of difficulties in the mind of the theoretical teacher, the practical herald of divine truth has grounds as well as demands for decision. The analogous usage of the word "drink" (pp. 138, 314), which has been emphasized by a recent example in verification of what is there hinted as possible, compels the acceptance of the line of testimonies which the Index permits the inquirer for truth to bring together for confirmation. The meaning of "nektar," in Plato's Banquet, p. 78, is questioned, because Poros (Sympos. ii. 176) is represented as "intoxicated" (methuo) on nektar. The point of the critic's difficulty is found in the real meaning of the term "methuo"; and, as the meaning of the term "nektar" (see Index), is, like that of "tirosh," *un*questionable, the question as to the meaning of "methuo" must yield. Doubt also is suggested as to the

meaning of "aporrox," p. 107; but decision can be reached through the connections found in the Index. Objection is made, not to the *rendering*, but to the application of Aristotle's definition of "temperance," on p. 124, because Aristotle does not, "in the connection," refer to drinking wine. Here is the misleading tendency in "specialists" in literary, especially in Biblical criticism. The whole history of counter views, in every department of Christian doctrine, has arisen from the doubts as to a truth, because, though expressed in another statement of the same writer, it is not stated in the passage to which the specialist holds his reader. Aristotle certainly states the general principle of "temperance" as "abstinence" from any *dangerous* habit. In his Ethics, Aristotle states and repeats his *principle* (pp. 124–6). In his private instruction of Alexander, and in the classic records of his Meteorics, Politics, and Problems, he directly, repeatedly, and emphatically applies that principle to the drinking of wine (pp. 121–27–28, 132, 140, and 402). Doubt again is expressed as to statements of Dioscorides on p. 137. The reader is directed to the fuller statement of the Greek medical writers on pp. 403–5. Difficulties are suggested as to the collections of Athenæus, pp. 191–4. As there indicated, they are the difficulties found in the works of all mere compilers, and

especially of poets of convivial habits like Horace and Byron, whose utterances in their three states—of hilarity, of remorse, and of balanced truthfulness,—are to be discriminated. That Athenæus should picture Plato as teaching in his Banquet that the gods are intoxicated on nectar was as natural as that a like class should utter the same irony as to the apostle Peter and his associates, in connection with "gleukos," where Luke the historian recognizes the common significance of "mestoō" and of "methuō," by stating that the accusers used the former and the respondent the latter word (Acts ii. 13–15. See Index).

The objections to the interpretations of the Roman writers, calling forth sportive as well as serious assaults, were, so far as deemed important, disposed of by the French authorities cited in the Supplement. The writer's courteous, genial, and admired coadjutor in the origin of the American Philological Association, alluded to p. 456, admits having uttered the genial pun that "Samson was riddled." This, however, was uttered before the reading of the Supplement; and possibly the "riddling" was on the other side. Another critic suggested that the ancient Hebrew "abstainers," as Samson, were not "life-long" in adherence to this, to the critic, *doubtful* virtue. It is possible that a new

study of the "historic text" may insert this textual correction from some old manuscript "find"; for historic texts and classic authorities are in daily jeopardy, now that "*evolutions*" of ages are outrun by "*revolutions*" of a day. It may be that the old Hebrew hero in abstinence "fell from grace"; but the "textus receptus" gives present assurance that he was the "riddler" instead of the "riddled," and that when at last he fell, the temple of error fell with him.

So, too, the rattle of Arab night-musketry has been perpetuated upon two harmless little quotation-marks enclosing the word "mustum," in the brief reference to Plautus (p. 133). Those little commas have failed to be "riddled," for two good reasons: first, they were too minute to attract the fire of good marksmen; and second, they were too firmly imbedded in the rock of truth to be dislodged. For, first, the writer could hardly have been supposed, when sleepless over the whole range of Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and modern authorities, to have been caught napping over the little volume of Plautus. Second, the writer pursued here his usual and the approved method of saving the printer's type by employing quotation-marks instead of *italics;* which latter both annoy the printer and mar the writer's pages; especially when the *italics* to be used make patchwork of the form, because of

their number. Third, the connection of the brief reference to Plautus was studiously indicated with the fuller citations from Cato, living in the same age and province; so that the common reader would not, and the impartial critic could not, be misled. Those quotation marks stand, and will stand; as has stood and will stand the old abstainer's "riddle"; which, as is noteworthy (see Judg. xiv. 14), specially sustains the theory of "unfermented grape-juice" when strained and stored even in open cells by the busy bee; the type at once of industry and of abstinence from intoxicating fruit-juices, as also man's early teacher how to preserve unfermented the juice of the grape (pp. 307, '8, 374, 380, '2, '3, 428, 478).

A unique class of criticisms on "The Divine Law as to Wines" has come from Rev. S. C. Brace, now of Philadelphia; a long and well known opposer of "the two-wine theory," as he terms it. These criticisms began in a succession of personal letters to the writer soon after the appearance of the volume. In his third letter, Mr. Brace acknowledges the courtesy of the replies to his two former letters; stating that on the first appearance of Dr. Tayler Lewis' article favoring "the two-wine theory," he wrote him his criticisms; but "no reply ever came." At the seventh letter, the illegitimacy of the crit-

icisms urged, and the pressure of higher duties, compelled a suspension of the correspondence. From that time forward a continuous succession of challenges and offers of reward for verification of Roman and patristic interpretations, and of documents cited, has been kept up: chiefly in a secular paper in Philadelphia; also in a few religious papers, especially in the *Examiner*, of New York. As these challenges were pure negations, with no possibility of reply, because no translations of disputed passages were hazarded, and no authorities for denial were cited, they have been allowed generally to pass unnoticed. They have proved, as in many kindred cases, the means of calling attention to the truth maintained, of leading many candid minds to examination, and of calling out able opposers like Dr. Moore and others; they have drawn the fire and revealed the tactics of mere skirmishers; and they have permitted the demolition of the well-manned batteries of conscientious assailants of what was believed to be error; though nothing but the end of Christian warfare can silence the guerrilla champion for personal hardihood. Every objection of legitimate and justly aimed criticism will be found to be met in the first and second Supplements to the volume criticised. The replies to Mr. Brace's legitimate inquiries, often sent to leading papers,

have, with one exception, been courteously published.

Meanwhile amid the genial witticisms which manly criticism can not always repress, the serious and difficult questions which the history of language and the progress of Science will always leave open, have lingered about a few Roman citations as to wines. The legitimacy of the distinction between the Latin verbs "ebrio" and "inebrio" (p. 150), especially as the Latin term "ebrietas," in common with the Greek "methusma," have been employed to interpret the Hebrew "tirosh," Hos. iv. 11, receives new importance from the study of the special use of "inebrio" by the Christian Fathers. The Latin compounds of the particle "in" cover thirty-five pages of Leverett's Lexicon; while its modifications by assimilation, as "il, im," etc., fill many more pages. In a large portion of these compounds the particle "in" is privative, or negative, in signification; it is derived from the Greek adverb "aneu," without, usually shortened to "a," and seen in the English words "apathetic, achromatic," etc. In the English tongue, taking the form of "in, il, im, un," etc., as in the words "inconstant, illegal, immodest, unequal," etc., it is also negative. The other meaning is that of the preposition "in"; common to the whole family of ancient

and modern European languages. It indicates an *inward* element, either as *cause*, *e. g.*, "instinct, intuition"; or as *effect*, *e. g.*, "indurate"; or as both cause and effect, *e. g.*, "inbred." Nothing can be plainer than that the word "inebrio," as used by the Christian Fathers, results from an *inward cause;* since it more generally is applied to a nervous exhilaration resulting from the influence of the Holy Spirit; a manifestation admirably discussed by Jonathan Edwards in "New England Revivals," under Whitefield's preaching. It is noteworthy that the English term "intoxicate" appears in Latin only in the uncompounded noun, "toxicum," a deadly vegetable poison, the "toxicon," or arrow poison of the Greeks; while the Latin "ebrio," has never been domesticated in English.

This peculiar term of Northern European usage calls attention to a fact of vital importance, observed especially in Committees for Bible revision by practical members. The seclusion, as well as the "specialist" habit, of verbal critics leads to marked unfamiliarity both with the general connections of truth and also with the popular usage even of their mother-tongue. This has had a doubly misleading influence on critics upon Bible wines; because, first, commendably ignorant of the subject-matter treated (pp. 74, 441), and second, unfamiliar also with popular

language relating to that subject-matter. There are three words common to the English tongue, two to the Latin, one to the Greek, expressive of the influence of alcoholic beverages. The expression "he drinks," to an American simply indicates the use of such beverages; the participle "drunk," however, implies intoxication; and in England, the signification of the verb follows that of the participle. The expression "he is inebriated" refers directly, and indeed exclusively, to that exhilaration which exaggerates nervous excitement and bodily action. On the other hand, the expression, he is "intoxicated," following the Northern fact cited by Shakespeare in Hamlet (p. 264), indicates stupefaction resembling idiocy rather than insanity, and leading to sleepy inaction. The two Latin terms, "ebrio" and "inebrio," certainly are not synonyms; and usage, classic and patristic, when they are brought into contrast, reveals their distinctive meaning. So the one Greek term "methuo," with its derivatives, indicates mere surfeit, or incipient inebriation, or confirmed intoxication; as Aristotle's problems (p. 128) are "direct statements," and as classic, Macedonian, Hebraistic, and Byzantine usage alike attest. The Christian Fathers certainly recognized in the term "inebrio" a meaning in harmony with the Hebrew "tirosh," unfermented

wine. Other Roman interpretations, as of Virgil's line (Eclog. v. 71, see p. 209), not met in the Supplement, will be found made clear by French comments on the Fathers, as on Clement.

RECENT CRITICISMS ON MEDIEVAL INTERPRETATIONS.

Among these, two deserve special notice. The call for the decree of the Council of Carthage, alluded to p. 231, has been as persistently pressed as its courteous private reply has been repeatedly given. In the necessarily brief and condensed citations of the original, it was not supposed that the full reference made to Bingham would be questioned, or that his authority as one of the ablest scholars of the English Church would be disputed (see pp. 225 and 231). When again the special editions of Augustine, that of Migne as well as of early commentators, were cited, in which, in the Appendix, the very words quoted are found, it was expected the demand would be satisfied. As this did not meet the craving eagerness of the critic, the full words of the decree, cited by Migne, in commenting on Cyprian, p. 490, are given.

The denial of the correctness of the statement as to the Arabic term "el-jîd," has been

yet more persistently pressed. Its legitimacy will appear by considering both the Greek and Arabic terms found in John ii. 10. The Greek term is not "agathos," good in permanent essence; but "kalos," beautiful, goodly or good-like; *i. e.*, good in present aspect and adaptation. These two meanings are brought together in Matt. vii. 17, 18: where the term "agathos" is applied to the "tree," as permanently and essentially good; while the term "kalos" is applied to the "fruits," as "good-like" in aspect, and as "good" in their adaptation during the temporary stage between immature unripeness and over-mature decay. These distinct meanings of "agathos" and "kalos," as employed by the Greek translators of the Old Testament in rendering the Hebrew word "tōb," are presented at length by Fuerst. The modern Arabic word, "tayîb," cognate with the Hebrew "tōb," heard constantly by the traveller among Arabs, has the same double meaning. How carefully the Greek translators used these two terms may be observed in the early chapters of Genesis, where "tōb" indicates present adaptation, and is rendered by "kalos"; while in Ecclesiastes, where man's essential and permanent "good" is in the writer's mind, the word "tōb" is rendered by "agathos." It is specially illustrative of the Greek term "kalos," used John ii. 10,

that Matthew employs it no less than eight times in the several parables brought together in this thirteenth chapter (see vv. 8, 23, 24, 27, 37, 38, 45, 48); "ground" being good only when newly tilled; "seed" being good only when new; "fish" being good only when newly caught and fresh; and "pearls" being in nature "beautiful," and hence described as "goodly." In keeping now with this meaning, the Arabic translators rendered the Greek "kalos," in John ii. 10, by "jîd"; whose root and derived terms may be traced in Gesenius' Hebrew Lexicon under the cognate term "gad," in the Arabic Lexicon of Freytag, in the Hebrew Grammars of Gesenius or Green, and in the Arabic Grammar of D. Stewart (London, 1841), or of any other author. The root verb "jid" is a biliteral, belonging to the class called "double-ayin" by Hebrew, and "surd" by Arabic grammarians; which biliteral roots become triliteral by the repetition of their second consonant. From the root-verb "jid" are derived the words "jîd" and "jud" by inserted vowel letters; and also "jedîd" by repeating the second consonant. All these derivatives have meanings associated with those of their root. Under the root-verb "jid," are found in Freytag's Lexicon the meanings: "novus fuit," it was new; "renovavit," he renewed; "novum fecit," he made new;

"renovatus fuit," it was renewed; "novum cepit," he takes new; "pro novo habuit," he holds as new. Under the derivative "jedid" is found the meaning "arena mollis," mellow soil. Under the derivative "jedîd, which has the second consonant repeated and also the vowel letter inserted, are found the meanings "novus," new, and also "noviter confectus," newly prepared. These meanings not only justify the statement as to John ii. 10, on p. 223, but also throw direct light on the use of "kalos," applied by Matthew to "ground, seed and fish"; the result of discussion as to "unfermented wines," not only sustaining the general law of their preparation, but extending the field of their historic preservation over the entire range, both of the fields and of the ages of Bible study.

RESULTS ATTAINED AND THE TRUTH ESTABLISHED.

It is the lament of the ablest and oldest Biblical scholars at the present day, that the assured and the valuable results of the labors of countless earnest explorers have been so meagre. In fact the remorseless axe of the woodman, sparing not a tree venerated in the past, has only opened new lands to noxious weeds, and has diverted the showers that once watered the tilled lands; and that because "history," as

when Bacon wrote, has been set aside by individual fancy. The labor devoted to that boon of all ages, the revival of *ancient knowledge*, not conjecture, as to "unfermented wines," begun by Nott and Stuart, fifty years ago, and conscientiously prosecuted to this day, has not been fruitless. The connected statement of those results, designed for general readers, rather than for special students of detail, will appear in a tract closing this volume. Those results in every field but that of the Christian Fathers, have been sufficiently elaborated in the volume and in the first Supplement. The facts as to "unfermented wines" as taught by the Christian Fathers may be briefly summarized.

As the Divine Author of all things has left the "law of wines" to be learned by the teachings of nature, a law palpable to its violators and sought in all ages by wise and good men, the Christian Fathers present that light as it shines not only in the Old and New Testament Scriptures, but in the whole range of Asiatic and Greek and Roman Literature. Clement was an Aristotle, and Jerome a Pliny in this field of research; though their "direct statements" have been "hidden by the God of this world," as was Clement's unfolding of the hieroglyphic system, and as was Jerome's balanced historic record as to the Apostle Peter. The

fathers of the early centuries found many intelligent and conscientious disciples of Christ that were forerunners of the "Friends" in modern ages; who, because of their perversion, have abandoned Christ's appointed ordinances. These conscientious men, like Samson and Samuel, Jonadab and Daniel, John and Timothy, abstained from all products of the grape, not only as a beverage and a medicine, but also at the ordinance of the Lord's Supper. True Christian leaders sustained the balanced law of the Egyptians in Abraham's and Melchisedek's day; the law of Moses for offerings in the special land of the vine; the custom of the Hebrew Passover maintained to this day; the *unfermented* "fruit of the vine," made and drank by Christ, and by him appointed to be used at his Supper; and the "medicinal" wine commended by Paul only for occasional and specially limited use. This provision, sought, invented, and constantly maintained by the best men of ancient civilized lands, was alike opposed to two extremes: the prohibition, on the one hand, of all wine, as in the early Brahminic code, and found by Moses among the Nazarite bands existing centuries before he was born; and on the other hand the use at the Supper of wine the least intoxicating, when the location failed to furnish the unfermented wine; in which case the wine used was

largely diluted by water and only a few drops were partaken. Their associated statements as to unintoxicating wine, and the wine of the Supper, are briefly these.

In the second century these four witnesses are found. Justin states that the wine in Jacob's blessing, "tirosh," or "unfermented wine," was the "fruit of the vine" appointed for the Lord's Supper; and that Moses contrasts it with the intoxicating "cup of the devil," offered by the priests of Baal and of Egypt. Irenæus, living far north, in Central France, represents the cup of the Lord's Supper as "mixed" with water, the location requiring this resort. Clement, the representative of all religions then contrasted with the Christian, declares, "we do not abolish social intercourse," but we avoid "snares of custom." He says Paul's view favors "abstinence" from wine, as does that of Pythagoras. He states that Moses discriminated between the wine used at Hebrew festivals and at sensual idol-feasts, as did Plato. He finds raisin-wine in David's army provisions. The wine approved of Paul is medicinal, made from unfermented must; and that limited as in a physician's prescription. The cup Christ appointed for the Supper was "the blood of the grape-cluster." Water is the natural healthful beverage, Israel for forty years having no wine; and the Eshcol

grape-cluster was meant to be a type of their future use of the grape. As the Jews in Palestine, so the Christian world at large, could obtain by commerce, wine like the "Arvisian," or unintoxicating "nectar." Long life, as Artorius taught, is promoted by drinking "the sweet grape-juices," this constituting the aperient in medicinal wine. The wine Christ made and drank was conformed to the laws of Plato and to the morals of Aristotle; and the wine He appointed as the emblem of His "blood," was "the blood of the vine," to which His disciples are joined as branches. As a concluding and climactic lesson drawn from the teachings of revelation, Clement cites the fall of Noah through error and fault in making and partaking intoxicating wines; he regards the temptation to intoxicating wine as the root as well as the type of the curse ever since resting on families, States and Churches; while he adds Homer's accordant and supplementary testimony from the teachings of nature, that the exchange among godlike men, of well-known unintoxicating for intoxicating wines, shuts such men out of the companionship and honors of celestial citizenship. Finally, Tertullian declares that Christ brought His followers back to Roman virtue as to wine; that the wine of the Supper was prophesied by Jacob to Judah and pictured by Isaiah as fresh grape-juice

dyeing his garments; and is that expressed for immediate use from the cluster.

In the third century four witnesses meet. Origen mentions three kinds of wine and two kinds of skin-bottles for their preservation; and he shows that these three kinds of wine were described by Moses, David, Solomon, Isaiah, and Jeremiah. The wine with deadly poison, preserved in skins unguarded from the air, was the wine of Sodom, given by his incestuous daughters to Lot, and drank by "the impious" at their feasts. The wine free from the intoxicating element was preserved in oiled skins; and was that blessed by Isaac, that promised by Jacob, that commended and used by David, and that appointed by Christ as "the cup of the new covenant." Between these two was the "mixed cup," partially fermented wine, mingled with water, drank by unstable Christians, and, in necessary cases, allowed at the Lord's Supper. Most important of all, Origen in the third century, like Nott in the nineteenth century, found that the spotless character of Christ was exposed to just and successful assault from opposers like the sceptic Marcion, *because* the officers of some Christian Churches mistook Christ's practice and appointment, and hence themselves indulged in, and furnished for their brethren at the Lord's table, intoxicating wines.

Cyprian, meeting conscientious Christians who abstained from wine at the Supper, says that the wine given by Melchisedek, in which age "tirosh," or unfermented wine, was made in Egypt and mentioned by Isaac, was that foreshadowed for Christ's Supper; that what He appointed was "the blood of the true vine"; and that this, His appointment, should never be varied unless necessity compelled the use of "wine mixed with water." This wine he finds in that promised by Jacob and drank by David; and the exhilaration attending its partaking is not that of physical "inebriation," but of spiritual fervor. Zeno states that the wine of the Supper was "must"; that this was the wine partaken by Melchisedek, Abraham, Jacob, and Joseph; again, that while wild honey was John's home-fare, that of Jesus was "must"; that the "fruit of the vine" used at His Supper, was in sweetness like His words; and that at the Pentecost, the "must" which the inspired Christian band were charged with drinking, was a type of the pure enthusiasm begotten by the Holy Spirit. Arnobius commends the wines approved by Plato and by the early Romans in religious rites; he quotes Virgil's pictures of "nectar" as the only fit beverage and offering; and declares that in all cases of need the wine used should be "specially prepared," as Christ directed to the

two who prepared for His last Supper, and as the Jews still make raisin-wine for all religious services.

In the fourth century three associates of the first Christian emperor are witnesses. Eusebius, Constantine's biographer, traces how the preparation of the Gentile nations, as well as of the Jews, for "the truth as it is in Jesus" was aided by their recognition of "the Divine law as to wines"; how Grecian philosophy and Roman law, in common with Nazarite abstinence and with Egyptian, Hebrew, and Roman unintoxicating wines, promoting limited reform but not securing radical redemption, paved the highway for Him that was to come. Lactantius, Constantine's family tutor, contrasts the altar-fires, "drenched with perfumed and age-honored wines" by "men stained with vices and crimes," with the "new and pure" fruit of the vine appointed by Christ for His new-born and spiritually purified followers. Athanasius, Constantine's theological adviser, presents facts opposed to heathen and Arian views in connection with the wine of the Supper. While the people of India, worshipping Bacchus, poured out wine as an offering, the Egyptians, who adored the Nile, used water in offerings and in lustrations; heathen ideas having no consistency. On the other hand, the wine appointed by

Christ, secured freedom from intoxication; it was foreshadowed in the pure cup Melchisedek offered to Abraham, and in the "blood of grapes" promised by Jacob as Judah's blessing; and it was in keeping with Christ's perfectly holy nature, exhilarating not the body but the mind.

The five witnesses representing different regions during the latter half of the fourth century, called to oppose the naturally demoralizing tendencies in the newly-established State Church, are more outspoken as to wines appropriate to Christian uses. Hilarius, in Southern France, opposing Arian views even to the loss of his position, contrasts the cup of vicious indulgence causing compunction, and the cup Christ blessed giving joy to the heart. Epiphanius, a mediator between extreme parties on the question of Christ's nature, in opposing the extreme view which rejected wine at the Lord's Supper, traces the contrast between the wine that caused Noah's fall and Lot's incest, drank at Israel's dance about the golden calf and pictured by Solomon, and the pure cup of David, made and appointed by Christ, who condemned both surfeiting and drunkenness. Ambrose, in Northern Italy, forerunner of modern return to the primitive Church of Rome, urges that wine is not mentioned before the flood; that Noah was permitted to in-

vent it as a test of obedience to natural law; he draws out the history of intoxicating wine from Noah's day, causing man's fall, and the "tirosh" blessed by Isaac, drank by David, and adhered to by even Epicurus; he insists that Paul's language commending a little wine as medicine, implies, in accordance with his teaching elsewhere, the duty of abstinence from it as a beverage; he urges that the abstinence of Israel in the Desert, and of the line of superior men like Samuel, Daniel, John, and Timothy, enforces it as Christian virtue; while the cup of the Lord's Supper had its type in that of Melchisedek, indeed in the water from the rock, flowing at the touch of Moses. Basil, the head of the Greek Church when the separation from Rome began, is (p. 211) specially strict in condemning the use of intoxicating wine and in urging David's pure cup as the beverage "of men redeemed"; he urges the duty of following the principle, though not the letter, of the Nazarite's abstinence, regarding it as taught by Solomon, Prov. xxiii. 31; and he declares that the Grecian law for the abstinence of rulers (p. 120) should pre-eminently, as Paul states (1 Tim. iii.), control "rulers" in the Church. Chrysostom, the Court preacher, pictures the disgrace of drinking intoxicating wine; he urges that the words of Christ, "fruit of the vine," and the sentiment

"ye do show forth his death," alike demonstrated the purity of the cup at the Supper; and in meeting the assaults of opposers, he emphasizes by insertion, as does Clement, the words of Christ, "the fruit of *this* vine." He especially urges that Marcion, the corrupter of the text of the New Testament, was the leader in perverting Christ's pure appointment as to wines. Cyril, representing at this age the home of Jesus, emphasizes (p. 212) the term "good," used by Moses at creation, developed in Psalm civ., seen in the wine therein commended and in that made by Christ (John ii. 10), declaring it to be literally "wine in vines"; likening it to the "gleukos" of Acts ii. 13; and urging that Paul did not commend wine as a beverage, while as a medicine he urged the restriction enforced by faithful nurses.

The two great leaders, the scholar and the advocate of the age that fixed opinions for ten centuries, down to the Reformation, Jerome and Augustine, combine and make clear on the subject of wines, all the teachings of their predecessors. Jerome comments on almost every statement of the Old and New Testaments now criticised; he makes the "fruit of the vine" used by Christ to be the "red must" fresh from the tread-vat, the same in nature as the "tirosh" of Isaac's day, and commended throughout the

Old Testament; and he directly declares it "contrary" to the "wine of Sodom," drank by Lot; he urges that Paul's teaching indicates that abstinence from wine as a beverage is a virtue, and that "youth should flee from wine as from poison." Augustine, the advocate, meets the opposers of every class who objected to wine at the Lord's Supper. He indicates that Christ called men back to the Roman virtue of offering "the first fruits of the vine." He declares that the exhilaration of the Supper is the opposite of physical inebriation, being purely spiritual. He makes the wine blessed in the Old Testament to have been literally the "blood of the grape"; the same in kind as that appointed by Christ for the Supper, and a fit type of His untainted blood. He declares the cup of the Supper to be such as "a little child may drink"; and he insists that it should be the pure "fruit of the vine" except in necessity; in which case the wine should be diluted with water. He presses this fact repeatedly and by varied comments, and in his sermons more than justifies, by his constant moral teaching on this duty, the most earnest of modern advocates for abstinence from intoxicating wines as a beverage. Theodoret, uttering a later voice and from the first home of mankind, where both Adam and Noah fell, prolongs the echo of the call now revived through-

out Western Europe and America; calling back the churches of Christ to His primitive appointment for the wine of His Supper.

OBSTACLES TO THE ACCEPTANCE OF RESULTS ATTAINED.

It was not without forethought this allusion was made in the opening page (p. 5) of "The Divine Law as to Wines": that both prejudice and pre-judgment may oppose the reception of truth, especially as to wines; while, too, it was declared: "both a clear eye and a comprehensive survey" are the demand of the age in the field proposed. That long array of great and good men, in the same age, country, and Church,—Nott, Stuart, Tayler Lewis, Baird, Bush, Patton,—came up in review; baffled heroes in a battle yet hot; unequalled champions in a discussion yet warm. The inquiry was a natural one, "Why are not such men, whose scholarship, logical consistency, and conscientious conviction on any other question are trusted—why are they not trusted as to the wines directly approved and the wines as directly disapproved in the Old and New Testaments?" The seven "causes of differing conclusions" (pp. 20 to 28), gathered from the experience of those men, have not only been verified, but reproduced and

emphasized at every new stage of the recent discussion. Most of all, the tendencies of German Biblical criticism, urged by Stuart throughout his long life, and made the special subject of the last essay that came from his pen (*Bib. Sacr.*, Jan., 1852), are now apparent to American scholars in the chaotic text of the revised New Testament. The review of those seven "obstacles to the acceptance of results attained," calls for these added statements.

First, the breadth of the field surveyed, as limitless as the range of human history and of preserved literature, forbids that exhaustive survey or statement of detail which alone will silence mere controversialists. Yet more: men ruled, now by the "law in the members," and now by "the law of the mind," now "piping for the dance" and now "mourning for lost pleasures" of indulgence—writers including men of genius like Horace and Byron, compilers like Athenæus and Wilson (p. 259), utter, under different moods, sentiments so varied, "their thoughts either accusing or excusing one another," that the decision of reason and "conscience" will certainly be differently weighed by students of different schools. Yet once more, the best of men, seen among the Christian Fathers as among modern Christian teachers, may so "seek the things that make for

peace" that they will remain silent lest their honest convictions should subject themselves or the cause they most love, to misconception.

Second, reliance almost exclusively on German scholarship, to the discredit of native capacity for independent investigation, to which the American public are now so extensively awake, demands yet increased consideration. Speculative in political theories as Guizot shows, and in philosophy as Hamilton, McCosh, and Porter agree, rationalistic in Bible interpretation as master Greek scholars like Crosby have declared, swayed by State-Church prejudice in Church history as teachers like Fisher have perceived, tempted by that insidious deceiver whom even the saintly Dorner has met at a fatal cross-road where Luther defied the foe,—the special speculations of German exegetes as to wines were brought out by Hengstenberg, the master writer on "Christology" in accord with Stuart; whose "Egypt and the Books of Moses" (pp. 21, 53), written in 1840 and issued in English from the Andover press in 1843, recognized the aid of scholars like Edwards and Hackett, and is still a guide to the Egyptian traveller, as it is to the student of Bible wines. The oversight of the ablest Hebrew scholars as to the "latest" utterances of German lexicographers, noted above, demands increased ap-

preciation among American scholars of men like Stuart, who have inaugurated an American school in Bible exegesis.

Third, the insidious fascination of what is imagined to be the "*custom* of *courtly* families," perfectly serpent-like, as in Eden with man's chief charmer, has received fresh confirmation since the review on 270 to 273 was penned. When the New York *Herald*, regarded as the echo of the last voice of European fashion in so-called "good society," three years ago came out in advocacy of "coffee-houses," to which laboring men could resort in place of "beer shops" for their noon-day rest amid winter-cold (p. 329), it was certainly an admission, that the sons of fortune, as urged by Pliny (p. 389) less able than the sons of toil to work off the evil influence of "fermented" wines, need the safeguard of wines guarded from ferment. What but the seductive, fascinating spell which imposes the rule of "fashion" among the wealthy of New York, could still the voice and hamper the pen of intelligent and conscientious editors, reporters, and contributors; who seem to hail the swift-gliding bark, under the spell of Circe, that is rushing through Niagara rapids, while even infatuated Ulysses sees not the vortex.

Fourth, the fact that two-thirds of the pub-

lic, and nine-tenths of the domestic wretchedness in Christian lands comes through beer-shops and wine-cellars is an echo of the wail from the second fall—made the mockery of the younger son and the shame of the two elder—the sad forewarning that the old age of apologists for fashionable wine-drinking, may witness the opprobrium of the sot clamoring more and more for his tonic. The patriarchal search for an antidote, its discovery in Egypt before Abraham, wisdom's warning that in the second fall the serpent's eye and tongue sparkle and sting in the wine-cup,—when will these voices, echoed and re-echoed by Greek and Roman, heard from the pulpit and covering the page for five centuries of the best leaders in the Christian Church—when will they be heard? They *are* gaining listeners!

Fifth, nothing but the special pleading of advocates in a hopeless cause—a style of argument that would not be tolerated in any court of justice or in any scientific association—could prompt the assault upon the wisest and best Christian teachers and pastors seeking to save their flocks, coming from so-called "specialists" in Biblical criticism on the truth as to "unfermented wines." Such specialists, met from the days of the earliest Christian Fathers, will not "lead" Christ's flock.

Sixth, professional men, medical as well as theological instructors, are on trial before an honest and scrutinizing public. The husband, the wife, the mother, who implore that the seeds of life-long appetite be not implanted by reckless physicians, is causing a just reaction. Men whose mothers burned out the alcohol from brandy before giving it as a tonic, who have learned that the ancient medicinal wines of Christ's day, Roman and French authorities attesting it, were "must," will echo the warning; for they know whereof they affirm!

UNSCIENTIFIC CRITICISM OF HISTORIC RECORDS AS TO WINES.

Seven years of discussion has brought out, most palpably, what Stuart in the early part of the nineteenth century, and what evangelical Biblical scholars in former ages back to Christ's day, have discovered and noted: that *truth* has connections interlocking into every field of survey; that error at a single point, in moral as in mathematical reasoning, runs into all conclusions reached by sincere though erring minds; and that the methods of errorists are unscientific. The criticism on the citation of Paul, Col. ii. 21, "Touch not, taste not, handle not," is a case specially illustrative. Cited by Paul, as "the spirit of truth," which guided him, designed

it should be quoted by advocates of abstinence from intoxicating beverages, its interpretation has a history running back to Paul's day, most instructive as to kindred facts developed in all ages; our own being specially confirmatory. This passage has been on the minds of the line of defenders of Christ's pure appointment as to wines, whose succession is traced in the "Divine Law as to Wines" from the earliest ages of Christ's revelation. Clement three times alludes to it; Tertullian comments on it; Grotius, the founder of the Science of International Law, as well as a master theologian of the Reformation, and Poole, the "pillar" of Biblical scholarship at the same era, quote these fathers on this passage; and the early leaders in abstinence from intoxicating drinks, who handed down the works of these later master-scholars to their children, would abjure them as unworthy if they allowed scientific truth to be overridden by destructive Biblical criticism when they know whither its tide is sweeping.

The maxim quoted, Col. ii. 21, is that of the Stoics; as that of the Epicureans is found 1 Cor. xv. 32. Colossæ in its people, location, and history, made the former maxim its ruling "philosophy" (ii. 8); as Corinth made the latter prevalent. In every age and land men of different temperaments have divided into these

two schools: the one giving way to sensual indulgence because God has planted the impulse; the other seeking by self-restraint to eradicate those impulses given to be mastered, not to master nor to be eradicated. Paul and John Divinely inspired, like Moses, David, and Solomon, taught that "the carnal," or fleshly, the "psychical" or animal nature, here made prominent (Col. ii. 11, 20, and iii. 5, 23), was linked by Christ at creation (Gen. ii. 7; 1 Cor. xv. 47) to the "spiritual mind"; a nature made in the presence of and "equal to the angels," and by the Stoic, "worshipped" as angelic (Luke xx. 36; Col. ii. 18, compare Gen. i. 26; Job xxxii. 8; xxxviii. 7; Prov. viii. 23, 31; Rom. vii. 23; 1 John ii. 15 to 17). But this union of the angelic and the animal was designed that the *redeemed* nature might, by the struggle for victory, gain glory for the Creator. Master jurists, like Grotius and Webster, have traced these two classes in all history; the Stoic in Job's friends, the Epicurean in Ecclesiastes, and so down the pages of human records; while Paul's very quotation in 1 Cor. xv. 32 is found Isaiah xxii. 13. The vital fact here to note is, that both these maxims have in all ages been associated with the lure of the wine-cup and like lusts; the Stoic, in Job i. 18, 19; viii. 4; xxi. 11; (see pp. 58, 59); the Epicurean, 1 Cor. v. 10; vi. 10, 13; ix. 25; x. 7, 16,

21; xi. 22, 29, 30; while the wine-cup is in Paul's thought, Col. ii. 16, 21. Paul does not set aside this maxim of human duty; for Samuel, Daniel, John, and Timothy followed it. He only urges that Divine "renewal" will keep them from both extremes, in the safe path (Col. iii. 1, 10). This Clement saw to be Paul's meaning (Strom. ii. 18; vii. 6; Paid. ii.); this Tertullian and Jerome recognize in citation and translations; this Grotius, citing Clement (Strom. ii. 18), endorses; and this Poole, citing all authorities, argues at length. Certainly one that heard this maxim cited in childhood by one more comprehensive as well as more responsible than modern "specialists," one that has as an heirloom, Poole's "Synopsis Criticorum," with its authorities attesting the intelligence of the leaders in the temperance movement, would be most guilty if silent when truth is struck down by injustice to its advocates.

While this single Divine testimony has a history that is of vital moment, the network of the enemy's web interlocking with truth more vital must be cut; though but a child wields the knife. All the Christian Fathers cited as testifying of Christ's truth as to wines, from Irenæus in the second century to Augustine in the fifth, were called to oppose two leaders in the perversion of Christian truth, whose influence has

been perpetuated to this day. Marcion, a profligate of Asia Minor, whose father, a disciple of the apostle John, had the trial of seeing his son excluded from the Christian Church, stung by shame instead of penitence, coming to Rome about A.D. 140, became the leader in destructive Biblical criticism. At the same time there came to Rome from Alexandria, Valentinus, an imaginative admirer of Brahminic pantheism, and of the Grecian idealistic evolution theory advocated before Socrates by Xenophanes, lately cited by Haeckel, the extreme evolutionist. These opposites, as always, were attracted and wedded; for then, as now, the denial of the *integrity* of the New Testament Scriptures—the first link in a chain of clinching logic whose bond no mind can break for itself or for others—leads on successively to loss of faith in all the associated truths of Natural and Revealed religion. Faith is lost, first, in the inspiration of the Scriptures; second, in the miracles which attested that inspiration; third, in the Divine nature of Jesus, who wrought those miracles; fourth, in the interposition of the Divine Spirit in spiritual regeneration; fifth, in any Divine interposition in nature attesting Providence and justifying prayer; sixth, in any original creation bringing into being the mechanism of the universe, and the organization of plant and animal

life; and seventh, in the existence of a personal Deity, with the "fancy" of a universe evolved, without a germ, by the action of latent, mindless forces. Insensibly, inevitably, when faith is lost in the first of this chain of truths, the whole gives way. Marcion and Valentinus worked together. The former originated the "fancy," at war with all history, that the Gospels could not be harmonized; that the epistles of James and Paul, also those to the Romans and the Hebrews, were contradictory. Hence, the corrupted manuscripts, perpetuated in the Egyptian "uncials"; made by copyists who worked mechanically, not knowing the Greek language; which were therefore corrected in later centuries by Greek scholars. This perversion Origen in the third and Jerome in the fifth centuries sought to correct; but in spite of the efforts of the latter it lingered and became perpetuated in the Latin Vulgate. The historic Greek text, however, prevailed with scholars even amid the antagonisms of the Reformation; as Reuss in his recent collation of the texts of Cardinal Ximenes and of Erasmus has shown; while Hefele, who was at Rome in 1870 as a German bishop, opposing the proposed and prevailing new organization of the Roman Catholic Church, has given the history of the corruption in that Church. It began with the new and forced ac-

tion of the Council of Trent, April 8th, 1546, declaring the text and translation of the Latin Vulgate the authoritative standard. A decision like this, requiring support, its vindication was sought by Richard Simon; employed to prepare his "Histoire Critique du Texte du Nouveau Testament" and "Nouvelles Observations sur le Texte et les Versions du Nouveau Testament," issued at Paris, one in 1689, the other in 1695. Fully replied to by Bossuet in his old age, as their unscientific method had before been unveiled by Pascal, the master in mathematics and logic as well as the devout Christian, they were taken up by men in the Lutheran State-Church; in *principle*, by Bengel in 1734, and in *data* by Griesbach in 1775, from which have followed a succession of New Testament Texts; texts not historic, but ruled by individual fancy; denounced, when suggested, in classic criticism. Their unscientific basis may be seen in these facts as to one of the last collaters; stated by Dr. John Todd, of New Haven, Conn., in a letter to the writer, dated June 7, 1882: "Tischendorff published eight editions of the Greek Testament during his life, four or five of which, at least, may be regarded as so many distinct texts, and the eighth differs from the seventh in no less than 3,369 places." Any ordinary reader may see the *source* of this *chaos* in Tischen-

dorff's edition of King James' English version, issued at Leipsic, Germany, in 1869, at the bottom of whose pages are given, from the three principal Egyptian manuscripts, their variations not only from the historic text but from each other. These variations of the three manuscripts number from twelve to twenty on every page; permitting the issue of *thousands* of new editions in years long to come.

The deeper principle that has prompted this modern anomaly is revealed by another fact. In July, 1656, Spinoza, a Holland Jew, having become a pantheistic evolutionist, and applying his theory to the books of Moses, was expelled from the synagogue at Amsterdam. He urged that Moses could not have been the author of the documents brought together in his five books; since, among other objections, the constant change from the title "God" to "Lord God," and the statement Ex. vi. 3, forbade this authorship; while the civil codes, inserted Ex. xxi. to xxiii. and Deut. xii. to xxvi., were made for people in two very different stages of national progress. It was significant that the same Richard Simon who had been employed as a destructive critic on the New Testament, had commended himself for the task by following up Spinoza in his "Histoire Critique du Vieux Testament," issued at Paris in 1678. The

same wedding of counterpart principles, first seen in the second century, was again repeated in the following of Simon by a speculative class in Germany. Though Simon was replied to by Jahn, of Vienna, in 1814, in a work translated and issued from the Episcopal Theological Seminary at New York in 1827, the two German schools are wedded still.

The point at issue now, is the fact that the discussion of the wines used and appointed by Christ, has in every century been associated with the discussion of these fundamental questions; namely: the nature and mission of Christ and the integrity of the Old and New Testament Scriptures as His inspired word. This connection is on the face of the writings of the whole line of Christian fathers; and it appears in translations and comprehensive commentaries at the age of the Reformation, traced in former pages of this volume. Its present interlocking with questions in the Roman Catholic Church appeared in the counter utterances of Archbishop Purcell and Cardinals Manning and McCloskey heretofore cited (pp. 17, 172, 302); and its association with the discussion of these several questions has been avowed during the discussion of the last five years. The unscientific method of both is openly and equally avowed. The foundation of modern destruct-

ive Biblical criticism is the "higher" as opposed to the "lower criticism"; which consists of the individual fancy from "internal evidence" seen by a single scholastic student of the nineteenth century, as opposed to historic testimony coming from a whole line of contemporaries and successors of the writers. The sole ground, as Agassiz following Aristotle declared, and as Darwin allowed, for pantheistic evolution is "imagination" based on a "fancied" analogy, which individual imagination is opposed to observations attested by ages of experience; as shown by Cuvier in the French Academy in 1830. This was verified in Comte, author of the modern "Positive Philosophy," who in his "Cours de Philosophie Positive," published when forty years of age, had found no "positive" *data* indicating that religious truth had facts which made it an inductive science; but, who, awakened afterwards to this reality by the death of a Christian lady to whom he was to have been married, was led to accept religion as the crowning "science," calling for an invention by "art" of forms of worship; when that *personal* worship, the suggestion of his "imagination," took form in a prayer addressed to the spirit of his sainted betrothed, offered daily by himself and his adopted daughter, and published as a model in his last series on the "Positive Philosophy."

The decision as to the chemical law and the ancient history of "unfermented wines" has been a "speculation"; formed without consulting "experts" in wine-growing countries as to modern facts, or as to the interpretation of Hebrew and Arabic, Greek and Roman, Rabbinic and Patristic writers.

It was significant when a few weeks ago, at the tri-centenary of Edinburgh University such men as Pasteur, Helmholtz, and Virchow were invited to be present and bear testimony. That University was founded when the fruits of the Council of Trent were beginning to be realized; when the events which in Germany led to the "thirty years' war" were maturing; when the massacre of St. Bartholomew, in France, was fresh in mind; when Knox had just passed, with others, through the bloody struggle that fixed in Scotland the reign of Spiritual Christianity and the rule of God's word as inspired. Those were consecrated foundations laid at Edinburgh in 1584. But, for years the tidal wave, raised at Rome in the second century, with its double undermining, has threatened even the rock of the Scottish citadel. It meant much when three men such as these were called from France and Germany to Scotland. Pasteur, raised to his recent honor in the French Academy for his profound researches into the laws of

ferment for German brewers and French vintners that he might devise the method of its arrest,—Pasteur, one of a body of scientists, satirized by Haeckell in his "History of Creation," as incompetent to comprehend "evolution proper," and more lately ridiculed by Renan in his "Recollections of my Youth," as incapable of appreciating "German exegesis,"—Pasteur, the echo of Cato and Pliny and the interpreter of Egyptian sculptures as to the mode of securing wines free from ferment,—Pasteur, worthily for the age, represented alike French Science and demonstrative religious conviction. Helmholtz, the able analyzer of the laws of light, Pasteur's predecessor in searching for the law of ferment, —Helmholtz represented Germanscience proper; and he declared, for "German" science, that "false rationalism" was its misguiding tendency. Virchow, author of the theory of animal cell-formations, and successful discoverer of the law of arrest for diseases caused by animalcule-germs —Virchow, now familiar to Americans as defender of international integrity, both in commerce, in science and in religion,—Virchow declared that "the theory of evolution," without the intervention of a Divine Originator, "has no scientific basis." It was significant that the demonstrater of the law of securing unfermented wines represented France at Scotland's review.

That science must triumph. The French history of that science must rule interpretation; and for this reason. *All* "truth," material and spiritual—all interests, domestic, social, civil, political, and religious, are linked. So Aristotle—"father of natural history," as Agassiz ever avowed—father of Logic, as men of all ages have admitted—father of comprehensive ethical and political science, as Montesquieu in France, Blackstone and Whewell in England, and Chipman, Kent, and others in America have declared—Aristotle taught that there are *three* sources of impressions which men rely upon as knowledge beyond the testimony of the senses. First, individual *fancy*, "phantasia," is naturally relied on by specialists and theorists from Plato down; second, *opinion*, "hypolepsis," by men who study facts and who, by induction, infer principles; third, *faith*, "pistis," the impulse of men that have "hope" and *must act*, the best "evidence" that things as yet unseen are real, and the knowledge that is effectual in its end because "faith" makes a man faithful to *himself* and also "works by love" for others. This "faith," Aristotle found to be the starting-point in all reasoning; the only ground of mathematical as of metaphysical "axioms," or truths accepted as rational; and by its guidance he became the intellectual leader in every department of truth in his own and

other ages. Paul, after defining "faith," found it to have been the guide of men in the Old Testament history beginning with Abel; the "knowledge" of Christ, not fancied, but historic, beginning with his appearance in human form, as *God*; subjecting himself before he made man to all He had appointed for man; Himself "the truth." All "science," or systematized knowledge, rests on "faith," in natural law as controlling man's destiny; in men, amid varied relations, as securing a happy life; in God and His word as a power to rule both nature and men. Science is applied in art; both are unified in philosophy; religion is reconciliation to philosophy; and the religion of Christ is "the truth" because it does "reconcile" men and angels to God, to their fellows, to universal law. If any subject in the range of natural and revealed law, in its intensely vital importance to man in his domestic, social, national, and religious relations, *has been* and *can be* practically and theoretically "known," it is "The Divine Law as to Wines."

The vital practical result of this unscientific method—this ignoring of history—is the loss to modern scholarship of the richest treasures of ancient experimental science; from which fatal result of her disastrous Revolution, so in contrast to the American, France is, to-day, through her Academicians, happily recovered. As Py-

thagoras, before Euclid wrote, had practically introduced into Geometry the analysis of Descartes, and into Arithmetic the methods of modern Algebra and Calculus—as Aristotle surpassed Montesquieu in political, and Agassiz in embryological inductive conclusions, so the Natural History of Pliny records facts as to the means of preventing ferment in wine-making, which Pasteur and his associates are gradually repeating by the guidance of chemical analysis. In Africa, Greece, Italy (pp. 144, 390), ferment was arrested and alcohol-product prevented by the use of "gypsum" or sulphate of lime, of "bitumen, resin, and pitch," of "marble" or carbonate of lime, of "chalk, Grecian clay," and even of "salt" or chloride of sodium. As to the first, Pliny describes at length four kinds of "sulfur" (Nat. Hist., xxxv. 15); the "vivum," or crude flower of sulphur, used by physicians; and the third employed to cleanse and soften wool. The efficacy of hot sulphur springs is described, while he adds: "It has a place in religious rites (religionibus) for purifying (ad expiandas) houses by fumigation." Among the Romans religion and science were always linked; and this, as the Christian fathers all affirm, prepared the way for the world's Redeemer; whose main mission was to enable men "to fulfil the law," because, like David and Paul, his follow-

ers came to possess a "new spirit," which made them long in all things to keep the Divine law. Before Pliny, Virgil speaks of "sulfura viva" (Geor. iii. 449) as the cure for diseases of sheep, and of altars that "smoke with sulphur" (Æn. ii. 693), as the sign of Divine propitiation. The Greeks, from Homer, note the same, calling sulphur "theion," with a network of cognates, from "thuo," to sacrifice; Dioscorides (v. 124), treating of its healing virtue; and Homer citing often (Il. xvi. 228; Odys. xxii. 481, 493), its expiatory or purifying efficacy. With sulphur Pliny directly associates (xxxv. 15) "bitumen" and its kindred elements, resin, pitch, etc., stating its "*near* (vicina) nature" to sulphur. And now modern science, approaching constantly the analysis of chemical action, finds alcohol composed of carbon and hydrogen, with a less proportion of oxygen; it traces the strong affinities of sulphur, present in gypsum, for both oxygen and hydrogen, as also the action of all compounds of lime; and modern French science is utilizing, one after another, all these in securing unalcoholic wines (pp. 355, 393). Yet more; the Latin "bitumen," the Greek "asphaltos," in all its modern forms of pitch, turpentine, tar, resin, naphtha, kerosene, is found to be mainly composed, like alcohol, of carbon and hydrogen, with oxygen as subordinate; and all these are

used as disinfectants. All the supposed or actual products of chemical action in the articles named by Pliny, whether carbonic acid, sulphurous acid, or sulphuretted hydrogen, would appropriate the elements which constitute alcohol, and also take up the free oxygen, whose presence promotes alcoholic ferment; the carbonic acid would escape in effervescence; the sulphurous acid or sulphuretted hydrogen would also escape, as in marshes and from the volcanic lands of Italy; or if the sulphurous acid, by taking on free oxygen, became sulphuric acid, its combination with the lime would be natural. No logical mind can blind itself to the fact that *practical* "science" ruled the ancient Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans in the use of sulphur and bitumen in correcting, as they used oil in preventing ferment in wines.

The inspired word of God, then, certainly should not be "handled deceitfully," even if classic literature be assailed by destructive criticism to hide Divine truth as to wines. To designate the "poison" in wines, "Moses and the prophets," cited by Christ, used the word "chêmâh" (Deut. xxxii. 33; Hos. vii. 5); a noun derived from the verb "chamah," akin to "chemed," red wine (Isa. xxvii. 2); also to "chemer," pure blood of the grapes (Deut. xxxii. 14), and to "ch'mar" (Ezra vi. 9; Dan. v.

4), wine offered in sacrifice; and again to "chêmâr," slime (Gen. xi. 3), and "chomer," mortar (Gen. xi. 3, and Exod. i. 14). As this kinship of terms in the Hebrew is illustrated by a like kinship in the Greek of the Septuagint version, as also the like nature and expiatory relation of sulphur and of bitumen in Moses' narrative (Gen. xiv. 10, and xix. 24), in Christ's teachings (Luke xvii. 29, 30), and in John's "Revelation of Jesus Christ" (Rev. xx. 6, 10, 14, 15; xxi. 6–8), who can blind himself to the Divine teaching? Certainly all God's laws, for earth and heaven, for body and spirit, are indissolubly linked; "the truth" centres in its Author, alike man's Creator and Redeemer; and no follower, surely no herald of that Redeemer is "true and faithful," who does not seek till he finds, and who does not accept when he finds it, the "Divine law as to wines."

THE WRITER'S PERSONAL RELATIONS TO RECENT DISCUSSIONS UPON "THE DIVINE LAW AS TO WINES."

In the volume of 326 pages, covering, in condensed yet logical and verified scientific and historic statement, the whole field open for investigation as to the law of wines, less space far was given to personal experience than is found in

Canon Farrar's brief pamphlet (pp. 7 to 9, comp. 303 to 305). In the first Supplement of 130 pages (pp. 327 to 456), embodying the French scientific, the Roman historic testimonies, and replying to the then developed literary objections, no personal allusions were introduced, except to Dr. Moore's suppositions, doubtless honest, as to the "little learning" of the writer (pp. 336 and 342). The private as well as public methods resorted to to weaken the force of Divine truth by the fancied weakness, at some subordinate points, of its advocate, demands the following statement.

The allusion to three parallels, on page 5, was prompted by the fact that from early childhood profound and full discussions of questions now settled were made familiar by a maternal grandfather, and a father whose blindness required that his youngest son act as his reader. That grandfather was the fifth in descent from a line of practical Puritans; the first of whom owned one of the first wharves built in Boston. In 1774 that grandfather was a civil and then a military officer; who as such was a thorough student of the British Constitution, reviewed in Blackstone's Commentaries, which appeared in four volumes at London, from 1765 to '69. Discriminating between the unconstitutional Revolution which beheaded Charles I. in 1649, and the constitu-

tional Revolution which deposed James II. in 1689, he hailed Burke's speech of March 22, 1775, in the British Parliament; which proved that the Americans were true to the British Constitution in their resistance to the measures of Lord North. Called in 1775 to aid in the support of aged negro slaves emancipated by the will of his grandfather, the publication, July 22, 1776, in the Boston *Gazette*, of the Declaration of Independence, with speeches at ratification meetings, followed immediately by the advertisement of a runaway slave, led to questions as to the relation in that Declaration of the two words "liberty" and "equality." Their conflict, rather than harmony, in the French Revolution which soon followed, analyzed by Burke in 1790, elaborated by Guizot in his "Memoirs of my own Time," issued from 1856 to 1868, verified in the American legislation of the past twenty years—this distinction was guarded in the American "Declaration" of 1776 and in the American Constitution of 1787. A free-thinker, though reverent, in religion, the example of Rhode Island led him in 1774 to seek legal permission to organize, and in 1775 to give himself to the support of, a church founded on the principle of religious "liberty"; though religious "equality," granted in 1789 in all the other States of the Union, in his own State was not

secured till the year of his death, 1833. His rare virtue, his presidency in the first Anti-slavery and Temperance Societies organized in the United States, his special attachment to his favorite grandson, for whose education at home and abroad he left provision, inspired a respect which on social, political, and religious questions has at once prompted, secured, and promoted a like respect in all subsequent associations.

The writer's father, sixth in line from one of the first Pilgrim settlers, at seventeen a devout member of Roger Williams' Church at Providence, R. I., President of the Massachusetts Baptist Convention more years than any other incumbent, was comprehensive and conservative on all social, national, and religious issues. Chosen, in 1819, to represent vital principles, a member of the Convention which set off Maine as a State in counterpoise to Missouri, one of the Committee of five with Daniel Webster as Chairman to report on a provision for religious "equality," every question of the State and National Government, every demand of Christian and Church fellowship was mastered. His serene old age, spent with his son in Washington, D. C., from 1844 to 1861, made his modestly stated convictions to be appreciated by each successive President, on whom he often called; till gradually, unnerving anxiety amid disunion,

and finally the shock of the cannonade of the first battle, finished a course whose seed sown could not fail of a worthy harvest.

The principles of Wayland, that "right and duty" depend on relations established in nature by man's Creator, and that individual "liberty" to employ and improve one's powers is consistent with "inequality of condition," principles imbibed in youth, have since been recognized as the analysis of Aristotle, applied to domestic, social, civil, political, and religious relations. Cicero traced these principles as at the foundation of the Constitutional Government of the Roman Republic, administered by select representatives. Montesquieu, writing under Louis XIV., found them embodied in the English Government inaugurated in 1689, the year of his birth; and he wrought them out in his master-work, "Esprit des Lois." Burke, under George III., applied them to the American Revolution; Chipman, of Vermont, unfolded them during Washington's administration; and De Tocqueville, of France, in his "Democracy in America," issued 1835–40, traced their balanced rule. Whewell, of England, who brought out, from 1833 to 1863, the history of "Inductive Science" as applied to physical and moral law, has shown the oneness, in their advanced development, of English and American principles

applied to domestic, social, civil, political, and religious relations; and this he has done with the strict scientific induction which Agassiz, following Aristotle, applied to the history of plant and animal organisms. In his "Memoirs" of his "Own Times," in the chapters on his work as head of the Bureau of Public Education, four years before he became Prime Minister under Louis Philippe, Guizot describes the reaction led by Daunon; when, from the extreme of "liberty," which permitted every parent to educate, or not, his children, and which allowed teachers to teach what they pleased, natural revolution went to the other extreme of equality; Government compelling all schools to be of the same grade, for all pupils of the same age, and allowing no school to teach anything above the grade.

In *domestic* relations, husband, wife, children, have the right to "freedom" of employment, enjoyment, and improvement; with "inequality," or rather *variety*, "of condition"; the term "hypotassō," indicating copartnership in Aristotle's and Paul's writings (Eph. v. 21, 22), always used in indicating the relation of husband and wife; while "hypakouō," obedience, is used for children. In *social* relations, servants and employés, be they lifelong slaves, or bound during minorage, or hired for the year or day, have

rights *reciprocal* to those of masters and employers. The master, like a father, as Aristotle taught, is bound to seek the "improvement" and future emancipation of his slave as truly as of his child (Polit., I., 13); a principle misstated by Paley, when, in 1785, in his "Moral and Political Philosophy," he arrayed the British against the American principle and polity; the principle, however, cited aright by Bancroft (U. S. Hist., I., xv). This practical view was recognized by Wayland in his discussion with Fuller in 1845, and was incorporated into his "Moral Science" (p. 214) in 1857. This principle of profound truth and right underlies servitude under the Hebrew patriarchs and in the Hebrew State; and it is stated by Paul in Aristotle's words, "to dikaion kai tēn isotēta," the just and the equity (Coll. iv. 1). In *civil* relations, "all are equal in law"; protection by law being alike the right of male and female, child and servant, citizen and foreigner.

In the two *political* relations, that of citizens to the Government, and that of States in their union to each other, reason certainly has ruled history in establishing these principles. First, the right to have a voice in *making* government, whatever subordinate principles may be and have been urged, clearly implies the duty of sharing in the *maintenance* of that Govern-

ment. Hence the capacity to "bear arms" has been universally recognized as an element of "political equality." Second, in ancient and modern union of States, as in Greece and Switzerland, the right of withdrawal from a compact with other States, and the right of revolutionizing the Government of any one State, call for discrimination. The right of revolution rests on three facts: first, that the Government has violated its trust; second, that all constitutional means for redress have failed; third, that the movement for revolution is demanded not by a class but by the people at large. The right to withdraw from a compact between States, involves three vital issues: first, that the parties to the compact should be agreed as to its dissolution; or second, that the penalty always following disputed withdrawal should follow; while, third, the withdrawal must not be on a principle which will prove suicidal in any subsequent necessary union. Time permits now that calm review which justifies the balanced convictions which ruled intelligent minds and appreciative hearts in generations past in our country.

It was a balanced, as well as intelligent view, that for three successive generations has regarded these several suggestions as alike erroneous: first, the attempt of Genet, under Washington, to form a French Republic reaching from Can-

ada through the Mississippi Valley to New Orleans; second, the scheme under Jefferson of a Southwestern Empire including Mexico; third, the suggestion for the revival of the old confederacy of "The United Colonies of New England," under Madison; fourth, the movement for resistance to the tariff, under Jackson; and fifth, the acts of secession which preceded and followed the election of Lincoln. It marked an era in the progress of social right in Christian civilization, when, during a war of four years, which ended in the emancipation of four millions of slaves, such had been the fidelity of masters and the attachment of servants that not an instance of revolt or insubordination occurred. It attested the balance of political and religious concientiousness, when, at the close of the war, such had been the previous committal to unsound principle in former State connections, alike of the chief executive, judiciary, and legislative leaders, that conviction for treason could not have been consistently secured. It was the most impressive of testimonies that in national, as in Church and family differences, both parties at last form all the closer union; because, they have learned that lack of concession proves the party that has nothing to concede to have been the party chiefly in the wrong.

The protracted struggle in the writer's native

State—a State most honored in other respects—the struggle continued till 1833 for religious "equality," established at least this principle: that, while under State-Church Constitutions Religious "equality" can not exist, and therefore can not be claimed as a principle of "international law," the right to religious "liberty" existed under Roman law, and it sustained the founder and the great apostle of the Christian faith. It gave way at Rome only when the Druidical control, described in Britain and Germany by Cæsar and Tacitus, came into the imperial city with the Gothic rulers. Religious liberty has maintained its sway as a *precedent* in the Eastern Empire; and it was incorporated alike into the Mohammedan Empire, which superseded, and into the Russian which adopted that succession. Its recognition is now so universally granted that this statement as to the three parallels, on p. 5, is justified because realized: "Ruling minds in Europe and America are now agreed that stable and efficient government must be constitutional; that servitude must be minorage guardianship; and that religious worship must be free."

Engaged at Washington, D. C., from 1842 to 1871 as Christian pastor and college teacher, the first class instructed was one of colored students for the ministry gathered in 1843; and, up

to 1884, in Washington and New York, students of every European nationality including Grecian and Russian, of three Asiatic Empires, Turkey, India, and China, and native as well as American negroes have been "studied," as well as trained as students. Called to act with the Secretary of the American Colonization Society in arranging for the return of recaptured slaves to Africa, when the slave-trade was effectually broken up under Pierce's administration, to counsel with Roberts, the first President of the Republic and of Liberia College, as to education for the colored people in Africa as well as after the war in America, the grateful esteem ever won has been a sufficient reward for years of disinterested watch-care. After the Church divisions, which began in 1845, mentioned in the United States Senate alike by Webster and Calhoun as ominous, a place on the Mission and Education Boards in both sections was actively filled until the war. As hearers and intimates for years, were leaders of three eras of the early times. Among these were Duff Green, the promoter under Monroe of the Missouri compromise, and secret diplomatic agent of many succeeding administrations; also Amos Kendall, the maker of Jackson's administration, as well as of the Post-office Department and of Morse's success. Of the second era were leaders

in ten administrations, and Cabinet officers of five; with Senators and Representatives of leading Northern and Southern States; Graham, of North Carolina, as Senator and Secretary; Cobb, of Georgia, as Representative and Secretary; Marcy as Secretary of War under Polk, and of State, under Pierce; Collamer, Corwin, and Guthrie, Cabinet officers in successive administrations; Sumner, of Massachusetts, as guest and Davis, of Mississippi, as intimate in sickness; Douglass, the repealer, and Houston, the defender of the Missouri compromise; Dodge, and Doolittle, and Harris, as Senators, with numerous Northern and Southern members of the House; all of whom sat as Christian men in the same seats; religious differences being unknown up to the war. Among men of the third, and still existing era, were Curry and Garfield; alike patriotic, trusted, and faithful in every relation. When the war came, enjoying unlimited confidence on both sides, visits for Christian ends, transmission of missionary letters, of moneys and of families through the lines was cordially granted; paroles from scores of conscientious Christian men were accepted in lieu of oaths of allegiance; the flag, dishonored by being placed over churches, was prohibited for such use, when it was seen to be a resort of self-interest more than of patriotic sentiment, while, too, its intrusion was in violation of the principle separating Church and

State. Most of all, the distinction between religious "equality," excluded where there is a State-Church, and religious "liberty," in principle allowed in all nations and ages,—a principle, therefore, of international "courtesy,"—was so urged through the State Department in 1855 as to control the cabinets of Prussia and Sweden; and it was so commended in 1873–4 to both the Russian and Turkish ambassadors, urged as it was upon the latter by Bancroft, the diplomat as well as historian, that it became the Court rule in Russia, and was admitted as valid by the Turkish Minister.

More grateful, however, in review than all these memories, is this fact: the assured conviction, received in childhood from Stuart as to wines, became the rule of life. In college, as pastor, as College President, as guide to foreign travellers, as successful counsellor of cabinet officers under five administrations, and, yet more, as lecturer for years to sceptics in Washington, D. C., and for eight years on varied topics before the Liberal Club in New York City, of which Horace Greeley was President—the dearest of these memories is this: that "the grace," if not "the truth," of which Christ was "*full*," was thus commended in every association of private and of public life. That conviction led, in the city of Washington, to an early acceptance of the result realized by Christ and His

forerunner in reform. Even doomed women, as well as men, wedded to the two vices associated by Solomon and in all history, were truly regenerated as well as reformed, and received into the Church of Christ. As Herod and Felix, to whom John and Paul spoke, had confidence in men who were abstainers from intoxicating beverages and who urged "temperance" on all, so now, statesmen, sceptics too, have faith in men that seek to save all classes, high and low, from the lure by which Noah fell. They, of all men, can not credit this: that Jesus Christ, man's Divine Redeemer, made and drank intoxicating wines; and, especially, that for the ordinance which perpetuates the remembrance of His spotless life, and of that death whose agonies He would not alleviate by an intoxicating anesthetic, He appointed the use of such wine.

There was a rainbow of promise which encircled the deluged earth when man's new and assured age of redemption began. It grew broader, and its hues lovelier, amid the progress in social, political, and religious "truth and grace," under the patriarchs, Job, Melchisedek, and Abraham; types of the three races to be redeemed, when unfermented wine was sought and invented. It spanned the heavens, and the angel bands sung under its arch, when Christ was born; when by His rule, "the kingdom *within*" man began, the sway of whose social, national, and religious

"truth and grace" is now triumphing in land after land, France, England, America, and is binding into one all nations. The fall of the redeemed race the ancient sages of all nations have traced to that type, historic and actual; to the degradation, the shame, the crime witnessed in Noah's debauch from intoxicating wine. The successful study for an antidote, the bees' designed teaching, the extracted and sealed saccharine juice of the grape, known to Egyptians and Hebrews from Abraham's day, made and used and appointed for religious rites by the old Roman Republicans, enjoined by Christ and maintained by His apostles and faithful servants in each successive age of the progress of His Church —this vital domestic, social, national, and religious gift of God—He will yet make His people hail and accept as His boon. They that with magnanimity, if not from convictions of science and of history, follow in the footsteps of the English bishops, no longer putting the serpent's but the Lord's cup to the lips of His tempted "little ones," if never appreciated in the world of short-lived fortune and its fashion, in a higher society, whose esteem will be truer, purer, and eternal—such quiet Christian workers will hear a voice saying: "Inasmuch as ye did it unto one of the least of these my brethren ye did it unto me"!

ALPHABETIC INDEX.

EXPLANATORY NOTE.—The necessity and best methods of writing the words of one language in the letter of another language were developed when the Hebrew Scriptures were translated first into Greek, and then into Latin and modern English tongues. The rules for putting Semitic and Greek terms into Roman letters are substantially those which suggested themselves to Plautus, Cicero, and Pliny. The three main difficulties are these: First, the differing pronunciation of vowels in different tribes as well as nations; second, the differing articulation of labials, dentals, linguals, palatals, and linguals in differing sections as well as languages; and third, the absence of gutturals, and of compounds based on gutturals in modern European tongues. Thus "Muhammed" is pronounced "Mahomet," "Mehemet," or "Mohammed"; and the "Pasha" of the Turks is the "Bashaw" of the Arabs.

The special source of confused orthography in records as to wines arises mainly from the varied methods of writing the Semitic gutturals; of which there are four. The first, "aleph," is a slight breathing, necessary in the effort to pronounce distinctly two vowels succeeding each other; as in "coeval"; the Semitic "aleph" being similar to the Grecian smooth breathing. The second, "he," corresponds to the Roman and modern "h"; which the Greeks indicated by their rough breathing. The third, "heth," and the fourth, "ayin," compounded often with labials, dentals, linguals, and palatals, have but partial representatives in European tongues. The Semitic "heth," or "kheth," a palatal and soft guttural, is really the Greek "chi," and the German and English "ch"; which the French necessarily represent by "kh." The fourth, "ayin," or "ghain," a palatal and rough guttural, is illustrated in the name of the Philistine city "Gaza"; written by the Greek translators both "Azza" and "Gaza"; while the Arabs now pronounce it "Ghuzzeh." This sound is still preserved in the Celtic "gh"; whose differing pronunciation may be traced in the Greek "lakkos," Roman "lacus," Italian "lago," French "lac," English 'lake," Scotch "loch," Irish "lough." The difficulties attending

the representation of these compounds with a guttural is seen in these examples. The compound "sh," as in "Shibboleth," was pronounced "Sibboleth" east of Jordan; "Shemitic" is now "Semitic"; the hard "*th*" is lost to modern French; the soft "th" in "the" is impossible to Germans; while "ch," always hard in other tongues, is soft as "sh" in French, so that they write "cherbet" for the Arabic "sherbet."

In the records brought together in this volume, put into Roman letter according to rules anciently observed, the following methods have been followed: The Semitic "aleph" is omitted; when initial as in "eshishah"; when medial, as in "seor"; and when final, as in "chamra" and "chamro." The Semitic "he" is the Roman "h"; common to all European languages, except the Greek. The Semitic "heth," as in "chemer," and its cognates, written necessarily by the French as "kh," and by some English scholars either "h" or "kh," is made "ch." The fourth Semitic guttural, when initial, is indicated by a comma; as in 'anab, 'asis, and 'etsir. In transferring Greek to Roman letter, according to early Roman usage, the following methods are followed: The long "e" and "o" are indicated by the usual horizontal accent; "upsilon" is made "y," as in "chyle" and "chyme"; the rough breathing is supplied by "h," as in "hepsema"; the guttural breathing in "phi," "chi," and "theta" is supplied also by "h," as in "amethuson"; and the Roman "c" is used for "k," as in "acetum" and "omphacium."

These rules of writing Greek in Roman letter, sanctioned by classic Latin authors, are illustrated, as well as confirmed, by the modern method, now common, of writing German in English, or old Roman, letter.

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